

STATE OF WASHINGTON



REPORT OF JOINT FACT FINDING COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Established by the Thirtieth Legislature Under  
House Concurrent Resolution No. 10



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574679

*Foreword*

To the Honorable Members of the 31st State of Washington Legislature:

Herewith is submitted the transcript of the proceedings of the Second Public Hearing held by the Joint Legislative Committee named by your honorable body to investigate subversive activities in the State of Washington. The hearing was held July 19th to 23rd inclusive.

The hearing pertained largely to Communist activities at the University of Washington. It definitely established the Communist affiliation of a number of faculty members and shed light on the existence of an active Communist bloc among the professors and instructors charged with the education of our youth.

The hearing, conducted by a legally appointed committee of the legislature, met with much resistance and actual sabotage in its proceedings. Under the guise of a "picket line" Communist inspired marchers surrounded the 146th Field Artillery Armory, scene of the hearing, and raised their voices in shouting in an obvious attempt to drown out the testimony of witnesses.

Seattle police arrested ringleaders of the demonstrations on charges of disorderly conduct. Joint efforts of Seattle police and the State Patrol were necessary to quell the disturbances so that your Committee could carry on its hearings in an orderly manner.

While the number of University faculty members exposed as having or having had Communist Party affiliations was relatively small compared with the actual size of the faculty, the hearing developed that the pattern of Communist infiltration was identical with that employed by the Communists in other fields.

In virtually every field in which they ultimately have been the dominating influence the Communists start with a small but active minority who almost invariably conceal their affiliations and operate as so-called "liberals."

Your Committee wishes to direct particular attention to the testimony concerning not only the University of Washington but to the proven Communist domination of the Repertory Playhouse, an off-campus school of the drama, which has drawn many of its students from the University. Testimony concerning the affiliation of the leadership of this school with Communist activities is preponderant, and, to the uninitiate, startling in the extreme.

A four-fold pattern was followed in the hearing by those named by witnesses as present or past members of the Communist Party:

1. Some took the stand and testified freely as to their own Communist Party affiliation but refused to reveal any information concerning the Party or other members of the Party.
2. Some took the oath as a witness and then refused to testify.
3. Some took the oath under protest and refused to testify, while
4. Some refused to be sworn by the Committee.

The greatest possible latitude was granted witnesses in the hearing. Each was permitted the right to freely confer with his counsel while being interro-

STATE DOCUMENT

gated. Those who did testify were granted the greatest of latitude in their response to questions. The Committee has found it necessary to institute contempt proceedings under the statutes of the State of Washington against several witnesses.

The Committee did not invade the academic field or question the method of teaching or the substance of any teaching.

An informed public opinion is the best safeguard against any assault on our way of life and our Constitution. With this thought uppermost in our minds the Committee respectfully presents this, the Second Report of our Hearings.

Respectfully submitted,

REPRESENTATIVE A. F. CANWELL, *Chairman*  
 SENATOR THOMAS H. BIENZ, *Secretary*  
 SENATOR R. L. RUTTER, JR.  
 SENATOR HAROLD G. KIMBALL  
 REPRESENTATIVE GRANT C. SISSON  
 REPRESENTATIVE SYDNEY A. STEVENS

IN THE HOUSE.

By MESSRS. CANWELL and STEVENS.

## HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 10

STATE OF WASHINGTON, THIRTIETH REGULAR SESSION.

Read first time February 26, 1947, ordered printed and referred to Committee on Military and Naval Affairs.

Providing for investigation of subversive activities.

*Be It Resolved By the House of Representatives, the Senate Concurring, of the State of Washington in Legislative Session Assembled:*

WHEREAS, These are times of public danger; subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity, so as to leave us unprepared to meet aggression, and under cover of the protection afforded by the bill of rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our liberties and our freedom by force, threats and sabotage, and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers; and

WHEREAS, Recent announcements by responsible officers of the federal government indicate the seriousness of the problem. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, recently said: "During the past five years American Communists have made their deepest inroads upon our national life. Their propaganda, skillfully designed and adroitly executed has been projected into practically every phase of our national life. The Communist influence has projected itself into some newspapers, books, radio and the screen, some churches, schools, colleges and even fraternal orders have been penetrated, not with the approval of the rank and file, but in spite of them"; and

WHEREAS, State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee;

*Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved*, That there is hereby created a Joint Legislative Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Washington which shall investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts concerning individuals, groups or organizations whose activities are such as to indicate a purpose to foment internal strife, discord and dissension; infiltrate and undermine the stability of our American institutions; confuse and mislead the people; and impede the normal progress of our state and nation either in a war time or a peace time economy; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That in addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate the activities of groups and organizations whose membership includes persons who are communists, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the conduct of this state, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this state supported in whole or in part by state funds, or any political program; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That the committee shall consist of four members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the speaker thereof; and three members of the Senate appointed by the president thereof and they shall be subject to confirmation of their respective bodies. The speaker of the House of Representatives shall appoint the chairman of the board; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That the committee hereby created in exercising the powers and performing the functions vested in it by this resolution shall have: (I) All the powers conferred upon legislative committees by chapter 6, Laws of 1895 and chapter 33, Laws of 1897; (II) except when inconsistent with this resolution, all the powers conferred upon committees by the rules of the House of Representatives, the rules of the Senate, and the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives as they are enacted and amended from time to time and such rules are hereby incorporated herein and made a part hereof the same as if they were set forth in this resolution in full; (III) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, including but not limited to the following duties and powers:

(1) To employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, legal, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary, and to lease, rent or buy such supplies and facilities as may be required;

(2) The chairman shall have authority to create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee;

(3) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate;

(4) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created;

(5) To hold public hearings at any place in the State of Washington at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee;

(6) To make a complete study, survey and investigation of every phase of the subject of this resolution, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all laws in anywise bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution;

(7) To meet at any and all places in this state, in public or executive session;

(8) To act during this session of the legislature, including any recess hereof, and after final adjournment hereof until commencement of the thirty-first legislature;

(9) To file a report with the thirty-first legislature;

(10) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description; to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony; to pay fees and traveling expenses of witnesses to insure their attendance, if necessary; to procure from any court having jurisdiction, upon complaint showing probable cause to believe that pertinent evidence is being concealed or withheld from the committee, a search warrant and cause a search to be made therefor;

(11) To cooperate with and secure the cooperation of county, city, city and county and other local enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution, and to direct the sheriff of any county to serve subpoenas, orders, and other process issued by the committee; and

(12) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution; and in case of disobedience on the part of any witness to comply with any subpoena issued by the committee or on the refusal of any person to testify regarding any matter on which he may be lawfully interrogated, the superior court of any county, or the judge thereof, on application of the committee, shall compel compliance by proceedings for contempt, as in the case of disobedience of the requirements of a subpoena issued from such court or a refusal to testify therein; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That the committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the state government, including the attorney general, and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this state shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That the Washington state patrol and all officers and members thereof shall furnish such assistance to the committee as the chairman may direct; and

*Be It Further Resolved*, That the members appointed to the joint Legislative Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities shall be reimbursed for their expenses incurred while attending sessions of the committee or subcommittee to the extent of fifteen dollars (\$15) per day plus five cents (5¢) per mile in going to and coming from meetings or hearings of the committee or subcommittee, the same to be paid upon their individual vouchers, approved by the chairman of the committee, from any moneys appropriated for the expense of the thirtieth legislature, or from such other funds as may be made available therefor; and that the salaries and expenses of any expert, clerical, and other assistants employed by the committee shall be paid upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee from such funds.

## Table of Contents

| Witness                        | Page          |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| ARMSTRONG, H. C.....           | 91            |
| ASTLEY, Ted.....               | 304           |
| APPENDIX .....                 | 339           |
| BEAL, Mrs. Maud.....           | 305           |
| BOWLES, Alfred H., Jr.....     | 99            |
| BUTTERWORTH, Prof. Joseph..... | 233           |
| COHEN, Joseph .....            | 334           |
| COSTIGAN, Mrs. Isabel H.....   | 120           |
| DAVIS, S. P.....               | 136           |
| DAVIS, Phillip H.....          | 136-273       |
| DIX, Mildred Genevieve.....    | 189           |
| DIX, Milton .....              | 182           |
| EBY, Prof. Harold .....        | 199           |
| ELDREDGE, Mrs. Sarah.....      | 207-271       |
| ETHEL, Prof. Garland.....      | 130-143       |
| FLETCHER, Jess .....           | 312           |
| FLETCHER, Judith .....         | 309           |
| FOGG, Mrs. Kathryn.....        | 160           |
| FORSCHMIEDT, Rachmiel .....    | 260           |
| GLASS, Col. Ralph R.....       | 242           |
| GUNDLACH, Prof. Ralph.....     | 204           |
| HEWITT, Geo. ....              | 142, 248, 274 |
| HIPPERT, Harold .....          | 134           |
| HONIG, Nat .....               | 167           |
| HUSON, Homer .....             | 173           |
| JACOBS, Prof. Melville.....    | 243           |
| JAMES, Burton .....            | 267           |
| JAMES, Mrs. Florence Bean..... | 265           |
| KARIEL, Henry .....            | 239           |
| MATTHEWS, Dr. J. B.....        | 34            |
| MORROW, Jewell .....           | 4             |
| NANCE, Dr. Elwood C.....       | 176           |
| OTTENHEIMER, Albert .....      | 315           |
| PHILLIPS, Prof. Herbert J..... | 158-169       |
| PELLEGRINI, Prof. Angelo.....  | 104           |
| RADAR, Prof. Melvin M.....     | 317           |
| ROBERTS, Joseph Dana.....      | 240           |
| RUSHMORE, Howard .....         | 145-190       |
| SMITH, Howard .....            | 218-261       |
| STITH, Ernest P.....           | 112-268       |
| SULLIVAN, James J.....         | 237           |
| SUMMERS, Lane .....            | 298           |
| WARREN, Ward .....             | 125           |
| WILLS, Ellsworth .....         | 230           |
| WINTHER, Mabel .....           | 27            |
| WINTHER, Sophus K.....         | 18            |

## Investigation of Un-American Activities of the State of Washington

MONDAY, JULY 19, 1948

The Committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Albert F. Canwell (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Sydney A. Stevens, Grant Sisson, Senators H. G. Kimball, R. L. Rutter, Jr., Thomas H. Bienz.

Present also: William J. Houston, Chief Investigator and John W. Whipple, Assistant Chief Investigator.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will come to order.

### Opening Statement of Chairman

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The second public hearing of the Washington State Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities is now in session.

Before we proceed, I wish to state that we will proceed with proper dignity here; no demonstrations will be tolerated, no speeches from the audience; any violation of that—those instructions, will be summarily dealt with. We intend to have an orderly procedure here at all cost.

We will proceed in a moment to call the list of subpoenaed witnesses. I wish to state that these witnesses may have, and many of them do have, counsel. I want it understood that position of counsel is strictly in an advisory capacity; they may freely advise their clients whether or not to answer; they may not argue before this hearing. We are not going to debate any of the issues regarding the constitutionality of this committee, or its method of procedure.

Will you proceed, Mr. Houston?

### Roll Call of Witnesses

MR. HOUSTON: Will the following witnesses who have been subpoenaed, rise as your name is called. **Ted Astley. Maud Beal. Maud Beal. Joseph Butterworth.**

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Houston, and Mr. Chairman, I am counsel for Mr. Butterworth. I just received word that he is unavoidably delayed and is on his way here.

I'm Mr. Coughlan. Now, too, if I may, ask a serious question.

MR. CANWELL: Yes.

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Butterworth has a class at the University from eleven-thirty till two-thirty, I believe it is. Is it possible that he may be excused after his appearance to attend that class?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will discuss that with you and Mr. Butterworth later. At the present time we will expect his attendance in response to subpoena.



**MR. CAUGHLAN:** I just call your attention; it's about ten-thirty.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Yes.

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** When he gets here, I would like to—

**MR. HOUSTON:** **Joseph Cohen. Philip Hunt Davis. Edwin Harold Eby. Mrs. Lena Eby. Clarissa Ethel. Garland Ethel. Viola Garfield. Ralph H. Gundlach. Mrs. Elizabeth D. Jacobs. Melville Jacobs. Burton W. James. Mrs. Florence Bean James. George McKay. Albert M. Ottenheimer. Dr. Angello Pellegrini. Herbert J. Phillips.**

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** Mr. Chairman, may I make a report on Mr. Phillips? He has asked me to represent him as counsel, and I wish at this time to make these statements: one, his willingness to appear and the reason for his not being here this morning. I have a very brief letter from him. I would like to read it at this time, if I may.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** You may submit the letter to the Committee for their perusal. We are expecting the response of Professor Herbert Phillips in response to the subpoena. If he is not here, you, acting as his counsel may supply the Committee with this letter. We will not make any decisions about what action will be taken for failure to respond at this time; so, it would be irrelevant to go into that at this time.

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** May I at this time, then, submit a letter which is addressed to me?

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Yes, you may give the same to the—to the Chief Investigator, or you may submit it to the Committee.

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** I wish to advise you, sir, that Mr. Phillips is teaching at Columbia—

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Well, we are well aware of Mr. Phillips' position, and any information you wish to give as to extenuating circumstances may be given to the Committee through the regular channels, but not at this time.

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** Well, may I have an opportunity later on, at the recess of the hearing, to discuss that with the Chairman and the Investigator?

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Yes, you may; but your client, Mr. Phillips, is not in attendance this morning?

**MR. CAUGHLAN:** No, he is not.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** That's correct, all right. Proceed, Mr. Houston.

**MR. HOUSTON:** **Melvin M. Rader. Mrs. Betty Read. William Read. Bernice Steele. Bernice Steele. Richard G. Tyler. Allen Bond Wilson. Allen Bond Wilson. Mrs. Susan Schuler Wilson. Mrs. Susan Schuler Wilson. Dr. Sophus Keith Winther. Mrs. Sophus Keith Winther.**

Mr. Chairman, I have called the list of those who have been subpoenaed and have not previously reported at the office this morning. We find among them that four have not responded. I suggest that you call their names. Dr. Phillips, Bernice Steele, and those two.

#### Four Witnesses Absent

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** There are four names of those who have been subpoenaed and have not responded.

The first, Herbert J. Phillips, is represented by counsel, but is not in attendance in response to the subpoena of the Committee.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** **Mrs. Bernice Steele.** Is Mrs. Steele in attendance? Will the records show that Mrs. Steele did not respond to the subpoena.

**Allen Bond Wilson.** Is Allen Bond Wilson in attendance? The record will show that Mr. Wilson did not respond.

**Mrs. Susan Schuler Wilson.** Is Mrs. Wilson in attendance? The record will show that Mrs. Wilson did not respond.

Will you proceed, Mr. Houston, to call your first witness.

**MORO JEWELL,** called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

## TESTIMONY OF MORO JEWELL

### President of Jewell's Detective School

BY MR. HOUSTON.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask the witness that he speak very distinctly and very audibly as these proceedings are being recorded. At the first time he uses a proper name, i.e. unusual spelling or least difficult pronunciation that he spell that name out the first time and that in response to questions he will answer audibly and not with a nod of the head because of the recording devices.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name.

MR. JEWELL: Moro, MORO JEWELL.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: 938 N. 84th.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the city of Seattle?

MR. JEWELL: Approximately six years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your employment, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: President of what is known as "Jewell's Detective School."

MR. HOUSTON: Previous to that what was your employment?

MR. JEWELL: I was with Army Intelligence and Security.

MR. HOUSTON: That's the United States Army.

MR. JEWELL: Right.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Jewell, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: May I make a statement prior to that, Mr. Houston, namely, that having been formerly employed by the United States Army, Intelligence and Security Division, it is my wish the record of this hearing set forth that my testimony has been commanded by way of subpoena.

MR. HOUSTON: The records will so show that, Mr. Jewell. You have been subpoenaed by this committee and are appearing here in response to that subpoena. Is that correct?

### Admits Former Membership in Communist Party

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: I believe January of 1945.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you leave the Communist Party, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I think December—the latter part of December of '45.

MR. HOUSTON: You were in the Communist Party then approximately one year.

MR. JEWELL: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: I'll ask you if you can identify this photostat of a card in the Communist Political Association made out in the name of M. A. Jewell as a member of the **Rogers Club**, County of King, City of Seattle, State of Washington, issued January 30, 1945 and signed by **Henry Huff**. Have you ever seen the original of that, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, that is the original.

MR. HOUSTON: The original of what? Of the card given to you?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, this came along quite some time after, but that is the card that was given to me, some months down from January.

MR. HOUSTON: Some months down from January.

MR. HOUSTON: But the date, January 30th, 1945 is approximately the date that you affiliated with the Communist Party.

MR. JEWELL: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you can identify this photostat of the 1946 membership card in the Communist Party of the United States of America made out to a—what is that name? I can't quite read that—read that—

MR. JEWELL: Well, that's a—this was a renewal of the 1945 memberships done prior to 1946. This was in December and this is my signature here.

MR. HOUSTON: That is your signature. Moro A. Jewell.

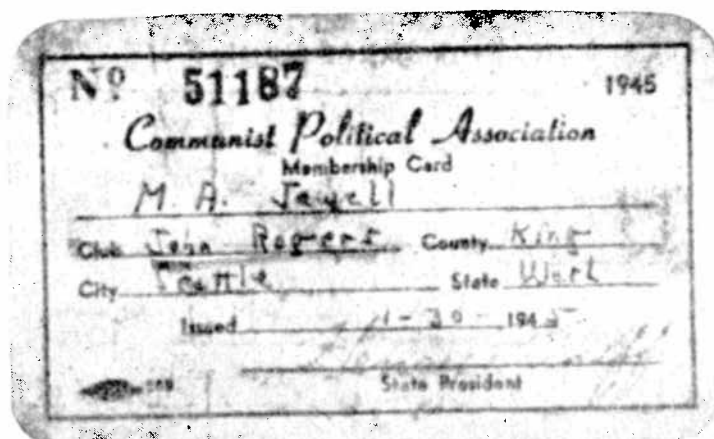
MR. JEWELL: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: And signed by **Henry Huff**.

MR. JEWELL: Well, that's a rubber stamp in both instances.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the records these two cards to be known as **exhibits 1 and 2**.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: They will be admitted into the record as exhibits 1 and 2 and so marked.



MEMBERSHIP DUES

| First Quarter | Second Quarter | Third Quarter | Fourth Quarter |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| \$3.00        |                |               |                |

DUES RATES  
 Regular Dues \$3.00 per Quarter  
 For those earning \$25.00 or less per week 1.00

EXHIBIT 1—Communist Party Card of M. A. Jewell for 1945.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS  
 To attend club meetings, read the Party press and literature, pay dues regularly and be active on behalf of the program and policies of the Party.  
 To at all times loyally defend the interests of the workingclass against the forces of fascism and reaction.  
 To fight against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, and all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories.  
 To fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people, for Negro and white unity.  
 To participate in working out all policies and tasks of the club, and to regularly examine the execution of such policies.  
 To vote for all officers, committees and delegates, and be elected to any office or committee in accord with provisions of the Constitution.  
 To appeal any decision with which there is disagreement to the next higher body, carrying out the decision while appeal is pending.  
 To strive to master the program and policies of the Party, the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

No 41252  
 1946 MEMBERSHIP CARD  
 COMMUNIST PARTY  
 of the U.S.A.  
 Seattle, Wash  
 State  
 Date Recd  
 Secretary of State, Chairman

1946 DUES

| JAN.  | FEB. | MAR.  |
|-------|------|-------|
|       |      |       |
| APRIL | MAY  | JUNE  |
|       |      |       |
| JULY  | AUG. | SEPT. |
|       |      |       |
| OCT.  | NOV. | DEC.  |
|       |      |       |

1945 DUES  
 3rd QUARTER 4th QUARTER  
 INITIATION STAMP ASSESSMENT STAMP

DUES RATES  
 Income over \$25.00 per week \$7.00 per mo  
 Income \$15.00 to \$25.00 per week \$4.00  
 Income under \$15.00 per week 35c  
 Unemployed 10c

Read the DAILY WORKER  
 and the WORKER  
 Read our Monthly Magazine  
 POLITICAL AFFAIRS

EXHIBIT 2—Communist Party Card of M. A. Jewell for 1946.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Mr. Jewell, after you became a member of the Communist Party, Communist Political Association, were you assigned to any club or any unit?

MR. JEWELL: Well, not in so many words but I was introduced to different members and finally was invited into the professional's unit which I attended at different times.

### Is Member of Rogers Club

MR. HOUSTON: Is that unit also known as the **Rogers Club**?

MR. JEWELL: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: That is the name for the professional unit. Did you attend meetings of this unit from time to time?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend other meetings of the Communist Party function?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You were very active during this period of one year, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Well—as far as attendance is concerned it—there is considerable attendance that takes place in any one of the units that is a method of proving your interest, I assume.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Jewell, I don't know whether the record clearly shows it or not, why did you join the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well, several years prior to this I was on general investigational work for the Army and apparently the Army had in mind that they wanted to be a little more careful relative to matters of production or anything that might interfere with the war program and so they assigned me to take charge of labor, racial, and subversive—and as an investigator you of course have to be with organizations or meetings—where meetings take place in order to know what is going on. The Army was not out after the Communist Party or any individuals. They were interested in anything that might possibly interfere with war production and I was placed in charge of that responsibility—no specific assignments relative to the Communist rank—just any organization or meeting that might possibly show a tendency toward interfering with production.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words you joined the Communist Party then to secure information and to observe the activities of that group, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: As well as others—many other organizations, yes sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Then you were very active in the party during the year 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Well I would say reasonably so—became more active after the mid-year, we might say.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you from time to time during that year make certain records?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I—I was required to make reports of my observations without opinions.

MR. HOUSTON: Some of these reports and records you have in your possession, now.

MR. JEWELL: Well I did have until they had been stolen from my office.

MR. HOUSTON: Stolen from your office. None of the information that you are testifying to now has any connection with the Army?

MR. JEWELL: None whatsoever.

### Identifies Members

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you Mr. Jewell, do you know a man by the name of **H. J. Phillips**, frequently called "**Scoop**" Phillips?

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Is this Mr. Phillips a professor at the University of Washington?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, he is.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer a little louder, Mr. Jewell, for the recording device?

MR. HOUSTON: How did you get acquainted with Professor Phillips?

MR. JEWELL: Well, in these meetings—these meetings that were held in private homes—he was part of the professional group.

MR. HOUSTON: Professional group of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And the so-called **Rogers Club**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, is—was Mr. H. J. Phillips in attendance at these meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Were these closed Communist Party meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I would feel so—I had no reason to think otherwise.

MR. HOUSTON: They were Communist Party meetings.

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Is Mr. Phillips a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well—I assume so—I had no occasion to see his membership card or whatever would constitute a membership.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he meet repeatedly with you in these meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: About how many meetings would you say you had sat in with **Professor Phillips**?

MR. JEWELL: Well, it's a guess—probably a dozen anyhow, I should think.

MR. HOUSTON: At least a dozen. And these were Communist Party meetings conducted at various places in the city of Seattle—

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —during the year, 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Mr. Phillips take any part in the conduct of these meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Oh yes, he—he would handle assignments and talk Party matters—general national and the international economic evaluation. Yes, he was very active in the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Very active. Is there the least possible doubt in your mind that Professor Phillips was a member of the Communist Party in the year 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I had no concern otherwise—no, I felt that he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever visited in Professor Phillips' home?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever attended any meetings in his home?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Communist Party meetings in his home?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever hear Professor Phillips reprimand a member of the Communist Party who was frightened over being a member of the Club?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I wouldn't exactly confine it to Mr. Phillips. It—they have a very clear-cut conviction and any resisting tendencies, of course, are picked up—as being improper to be considered a Communist. They either are or are not.

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard Professor Phillips—tell us about the conversation, but let's not name this other man's name right at this time. Tell us about this conversation that you had, or overheard.

MR. JEWELL: Well, I don't have to confine it to any single incident. They quite often would talk relative to the members who—who were active and who were not, and attempt to find out why. I might mention one member in particular was quite nervous, I observed, and he so stated that—and of course he was upbraided for being purple, if he had the right understanding and conviction.

MR. HOUSTON: During the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party, did the members of that Party attempt to conceal their membership in the Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well, almost during the time that I was with them, there wasn't so much of the tendency. They—that's when the **Browder** analysis was predominant, and they felt that they were symbolizing their purpose and Party better by being out in the open. Toward the end of the year, the reasoning was that they should become a little more dynamic; and the tendency, I sense, was to go underground a little more.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know the wife of Professor Phillips?

MR. JEWELL: I would rather question whether I could identify her or not.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor **Harold Eby**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Eby very well?

MR. JEWELL: Well, only as I met him in the meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: In meetings—in Communist Party meetings again?

MR. JEWELL: That's right, sir.

### Party Meetings in Different Homes

MR. HOUSTON: And where did you meet Professor Eby?

MR. JEWELL: Well, at the different homes, but many times at his own home.

MR. HOUSTON: There were meetings of the Communist Party also held at the home of Professor Harold Eby?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have attended those meetings in his home?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How many meetings would you say you have attended where Professor Eby was present?

MR. JEWELL: Well, still again, I would assume about the same number. Ten or twelve meetings—maybe more.

MR. HOUSTON: Is there any doubt in your mind whether or not Professor Eby is a member or was a member of the Communist Party in the year 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I had no doubts other than that I have never had occasion to see his membership card, or any other record showing that he was a member.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, Communists don't go around handing their card to everybody and saying, "I'm a member of the Party," do they?

MR. JEWELL: No, they don't.

MR. HOUSTON: It would be very unusual had you seen his card, would it not?

MR. JEWELL: It could be.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know of anyone attending these closed Communist Party meetings here that was not a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: I wouldn't feel that they were a Communist—

MR. HOUSTON: You were a member of the Party, were you not?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And they accepted you as such?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And you accepted them as such?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Professor Eby take any part in the meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, Mr. Eby was very active, quite often the chairman.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Eby presided at some of these meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now this was the Professional Unit known as the **Rogers Club**, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

### Professor Is An Office Holder

MR. HOUSTON: Did he appear to hold any office or offices in the club?

MR. JEWELL: Well, yes, he was an officer. I don't remember how they designated or what they would call the—the different—different officers. Directors, primarily. He was a director.

MR. HOUSTON: He was a director. Was he considered more or less one of the leaders of that group?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Professor Eby's wife, **Mrs. Lenna Eby**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, I met Mrs. Eby there at these same meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: She attended these meetings also?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she a member of the Communist Party, too?

MR. JEWELL: I so thought.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she also active or—

MR. JEWELL: Yes, she was.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know a professor by the name of **Melville Jacobs**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir, I—

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a Professor Melville Jacobs?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you get acquainted with Professor Melville Jacobs?

MR. JEWELL: Well, at his home primarily the first time.

MR. HOUSTON: At his home, also?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion for your being in his home?

MR. JEWELL: Well, it was a Communist meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: It was a Communist meeting. Was Professor Jacobs a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: I so thought.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he appear to be active also in the Party meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And was he a member of this Professional group known as the **Rogers Club**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall a discussion in a Party meeting of the year 1945 between Professors Jacobs and **Phillips** concerning the admittance of a certain party into the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I wouldn't single out that—that conversation specifically, but it was quite often carried on, as I mentioned before, the question of membership and who was active. Oh, there was—there was one instance there, I remember, of someone who had been away from the Party for quite some number of years, and there was quite a heated conversation as to whether they should be accepted back into the Party again, or not.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how did Professor Phillips conduct himself? Was he rather aggressive, rather—

MR. JEWELL: Well, **Mr. Phillips** probably would symbolize the dynamic side of their ideology. **Mr. Eby** was the other type, the decided diplomat. Both very capable people.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you—have you ever heard Professor Eby referred to as the brains of the Communist Party at the University?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I—what I'm trying to—I feel that that was the accusation to that particular group, not just one single—

MR. HOUSTON: Was that—in other words, is that—Professor Eby was considered the brains of this professional club or group, then, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I wouldn't want to single him out as being it. That unit out there was the elite, I guess they might say, of the movement in this county. That was resented, of course, by the other units.

MR. HOUSTON: The other units resented this group out there, is that right? Why did they resent them?

MR. JEWELL: Well, it seems to be that activities that's done other than primarily from the working class, is unpredictable and possibly dangerous, and you never can tell where they will go, I guess.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, they just didn't know how far they could trust them, then, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: That was the way I would analyze the reasons.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now how did **Professor Jacobs** fit into this picture?

MR. JEWELL: Well—

MR. HOUSTON: Was he the dynamic type, or—

MR. JEWELL: Well, he was a little of both.

MR. HOUSTON: A little of both, eh?

MR. JEWELL: That's why I say, they were—they were very capable people and I wouldn't single out one as being the—the leader specifically.

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Jacobs was in there and pulled his share of the load, then, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, he did.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know Professor Jacobs' wife, **Mrs. Elizabeth D. Jacobs**, frequently known as **Bess Jacobs**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And how did you get acquainted with Mrs. Jacobs?

MR. JEWELL: In these meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: In these meetings. Did she also attend these Communist Party meetings?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: I so thought.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she active in the group, too?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, she was.

### Identifies Non-Faculty Members As Communists

MR. HOUSTON: Well, we didn't have you here at our previous hearing. Do you know **William Pennock**? Bill Pennock.

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Bill Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And he, too, attended these meetings?

MR. JEWELL: He had at times.

MR. HOUSTON: And **Tom Rabbitt**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: I so thought.

MR. HOUSTON: And he, too, attended these Communist Party meetings?

MR. JEWELL: He did.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know an attorney by the name of **Barry Hatten**?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you get acquainted with Mr. Hatten?

MR. JEWELL: Well, he was in attendance at one, or possibly two meetings, I am sure.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh-huh. Of the Professional Unit of the Communist Party, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And he was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: I so thought.

MR. HOUSTON: He accepted you as such?

MR. JEWELL: Well, in fact he—he was—he was placed for—for membership during my time with this unit. I was—

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, he joined the Party while you were—

MR. JEWELL: Yes, he was accepted after I had been.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall who sponsored him for membership?

MR. JEWELL: No, I don't.

MR. HOUSTON: Now who sponsored your membership in the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I assume that would be Mr. Huff.

MR. HOUSTON: **Mr. Henry Huff?**

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, do you know Mr. Henry Huff?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you—how long have you known him?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I knew Mr. Huff for a good many years. In fact, we were raised in the—in our school days, the same town.

MR. HOUSTON: Boyhood friends together, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did Mister—your acquaintanceship with Mr. Huff, dating back these many years, rather expedite your goings and comings in the Party?

MR. JEWELL: Oh, I don't know. I—they're not inclined to take chances. He—well, they were not concerned as—as I sensed, like maybe they might be now.

### Identifies Another Professor As Communist

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of **Joe Butterworth?**

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is Mr. Butterworth?

MR. JEWELL: Well, he's a teacher on the campus.

MR. HOUSTON: He's a professor out at the University of Washington,—

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —too. Where and how did you meet **Mr. Joe Butterworth?**

MR. JEWELL: Well, I have met him at conventions and—out at East Forty-fifth, down on East Forty-fifth. He was in some official capacity in that unit on East Forty-fifth.

MR. HOUSTON: On East Forty-fifth. And you say you met them where?

MR. JEWELL: At conventions.

MR. HOUSTON: At the Communist Party conventions?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: In 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, it was about July, I think. In the middle of the year.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know where Mr. Butterworth lives?

MR. JEWELL: No, I don't.

MR. HOUSTON: But you never attended any meetings in his home?

MR. JEWELL: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: But you have attended Communist Party meetings with Joe Butterworth, then?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And at Communist Party conventions?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was anyone admitted to this convention that was not a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: Well, it would be by accident, I think.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, would it be hard for such an accident to occur?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, it would.

MR. HOUSTON: As a fact of the matter, you had credentials from your own unit, didn't you?

MR. JEWELL: You do, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And these credentials were checked at at least three places in getting in, weren't they?

MR. JEWELL: I wouldn't know as to that.

### Communist Party Supports Repertory Playhouse

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know **Mr. Burton James?**

MR. JEWELL: Not as a Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Not as a Communist. How did you get acquainted with Mr. Burton James?

MR. JEWELL: Well, only through the theatres. I've attended the theatres; I've observed him as an actor.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know **Mrs. Florence Bean James?**

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And how did you get acquainted with her?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I've been in at least one meeting, possibly two that I felt were—membership were all Communists.

MR. HOUSTON: Then was Mrs. Florence Bean James a member of the Communist Party—or was she, during the year of 1945?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I thought so.

MR. HOUSTON: She attended the—at least two Communist Party meetings where you were present, is that right?

MR. JEWELL: She attended—she attended a meeting—I might be specific by saying it was a meeting for the defense of the **Emberg boy** and these were—there were about six there that I felt were all Communist. They were meeting in the **Palomar Building**,—Mr. Rabbitt's office, I believe.

MR. HOUSTON: That's **Tom Rabbitt?**

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And this was a project of the Communist Party?

MR. JEWELL: That's what I understood.

MR. HOUSTON: And you accepted her as a Communist?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you mentioned that you have attended plays. Where did you attend those, at the **Repertory Playhouse?**

MR. JEWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Does this receive Communist Party support?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And is it common—how is it discussed in Party circles?

MR. JEWELL: Well, the announcements, of course, of their oncoming shows and literature accordingly would be at these meetings and quite often announcements.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Jewell, you have been a detective for a number of years, have you not?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And you were a trained observer?

MR. JEWELL: Well, possibly.

MR. HOUSTON: You were in and attending these meetings for the purpose of observing them. Is that correct?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You made many notes of the meetings, the things that were done, the parties that were there. Is that correct?

MR. JEWELL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And many of those original notes made at and close to the time of attendance in the Communist Party are still in your possession or ours?

MR. JEWELL: As I mentioned, until they had been taken, yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We didn't steal them from you.

MR. JEWELL: That wasn't my answer.

### Could Identify Additional Communist Party Members

MR. HOUSTON: Now, were I to ask you, you can testify about many people that were in attendance at this meeting—at these meetings and that you came into contact with during the time you were in the Communist Party. Is that correct?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I would say a goodly number but our attendance in those meetings was not very large.

MR. HOUSTON: But were I to put those records in evidence today we'd have the names of quite some few people that we might not be interested in establishing their membership at this particular time. That's the thing I'm getting at.

MR. JEWELL: That's right, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You could testify as to the actual dates and places and hour of meeting and what was discussed there and by who, could you not with your records?

MR. JEWELL: By records, not that I have any records, I think I could.

MR. HOUSTON: I'm not saying that you've got all those records. I can tell you right now I think we know where they can be found.

MR. HOUSTON: Fact of the matter, there are people sitting in this side of that rope that stood in response to those subpoenas that you start Communist Party meetings with that I haven't asked you about, isn't there?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I didn't see who—I wasn't in when the roll call was taken but I do see quite some people out there.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that will conclude my examination of Mr. Jewell. I'd like to thank you Mr. Jewell for leaving his business and showing

here, and you will be available—it is not your intention to leave town, is it, Mr. Jewell?

MR. JEWELL: Well, I think not.

MR. HOUSTON: So I have asked that he be excused from his subpoena and if we need him again we can recall him.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will ask that you remain on call and if we need you again we will give you proper time in advance to report, and we thank you for your appearance here.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

### Tardy Witness Appears

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: At this moment I wish to call the name of **Professor Butterworth**. I have a note that he did respond at 10:30. Is Professor Butterworth in attendance?

PROFESSOR BUTTERWORTH: I am here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you. The people who are here in response to subpoena will remain in attendance until called in order or until otherwise released or called for a certain time.

Are you ready to proceed with your next witness?

**SOPHUS KEITH WINTHER**, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:



## TESTIMONY OF PROF. SOPHUS K. WINTHER

### English Dept. University of Washington

By MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, did you hear my instructions to the previous witness?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you will follow them.

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

DR. WINTHER: Sophus Keith Winther.

MR. HOUSTON: And your occupation?

DR. WINTHER: I'm a professor at the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the city of Seattle?

DR. WINTHER: About 25 years.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you responding here today, as a result of being subpoenaed to this hearing—

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I am.

MR. HOUSTON: —is that correct? Well, Doctor, I will be glad to give you instructions. You can deposit that subpoena with Mr. Robinson over there and receive your witness after you leave the stand—and receive your witness fee—two dollars which the State allows witnesses.

What do you teach at the University?

DR. WINTHER: English literature.

### Admits Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I will ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know about when you joined the Communist Party, Doctor?

DR. WINTHER: I am a little bit indefinite about the date of joining. I think it was in the spring of '35.

MR. HOUSTON: Spring of 1935.

DR. WINTHER: It may have been earlier. I can't remember, it's so long ago, but I think that's approximately correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And about how long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: I left Seattle for the summer in June 1936. I don't think I attended a Party meeting after that. I returned in October. Except, I remember there being an open meeting late in November. I know definitely the date when I withdrew from the Party, which was—that is, it was late November or December, 1936.

MR. HOUSTON: Of 1936. Well, one answer to—this is as good a place as any other doctor—you say you know definitely when you withdrew. Will you tell us the circumstances of that?

DR. WINTHER: Well, it was an accumulation of dissatisfaction with the Party. The realization that I no longer wanted to belong. Something, I suppose, I should have realized earlier, but I didn't.

MR. HOUSTON: Speak loudly, doctor, this is being recorded.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what mechanics did you go through to get out of the Party?

DR. WINTHER: None, whatsoever, except I notified one of the members that I would no longer attend meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know to what group you belonged when you were in the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Well, it was a group—a University group, or a group associated with the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Other faculty members were—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

### Names Associates As Former Communists

MR. HOUSTON: —Party members there with you. Now, do you know **Professor Garland Ethel**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you were, doctor?

DR. WINTHER: Yes. I would like to make the same sort of qualifications that the previous witness made. That is, I assume he was—and so that I can answer yes to your question, I was a member—at least I thought I was—I assumed that these others were.

MR. HOUSTON: They attended meetings—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —you attended meetings and you attended Party business?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: **Mr. Rapport** appears—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —at meetings to give instructions and they'd be followed out?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was **Garland Ethel** at such meetings?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know his wife, **Mrs. Clarissa Ethel**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she also at these meetings?

DR. WINTHER: I don't think so. I don't recall having seen her at any meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: But you do recall, distinctly **Dr. Garland Ethel** was?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was **Garland Ethel** at the meetings when you first attended?

DR. WINTHER: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: And was he still a member when you left?

DR. WINTHER: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know **Professor Harold Eby**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was **Professor Eby** at these meetings, too?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Was the professor at the meetings when you first attended?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And was he at the meetings when you ceased—last one you attended?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And Professor Eby was a member of the Communist Party all during the period of time that—

DR. WINTHER: That's what I assumed.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Eby's wife?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: **Mrs. Lenna Eby**—was she at these meetings, too?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, she was.

MR. HOUSTON: And was she a member of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall whether or not you attended any of the meetings at Professor Eby's home?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment. Dr. Winther will you respond a little louder. Your answer to the last question was "yes"?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it was.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I caught it, but I do not believe the recording device did.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know **Professor Herbert J. Phillips**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Dr.—was Professor Phillips in attendance at these meetings?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Phillips a member of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, on that same basis.

MR. HOUSTON: On that same basis. Do you know Professor Phillips' wife?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she in attendance at any of these meetings?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I think she was.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know **Professor Angello Pellegrini**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Pellegrini present at any of these meetings?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was. I would like to make one qualifying remark since I recall him very well, and that is that he was a reluctant and uncooperative member of the unit.

MR. HOUSTON: He wasn't a good Communist?

DR. WINTHER: No. He was not.

MR. HOUSTON: But you still attended meetings—

DR. WINTHER: Yes, sir—that is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Pellegrini still a member when you left the Party?

DR. WINTHER: I think he was but I could not be sure.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know **Professor Melville Jacobs**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Melville Jacobs a member of the Communist Party—

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: —at the time you left? And he attended these meetings?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Jacobs' wife?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And was she a member of the Communist Party—

DR. WINTHER: Yes, she was.

MR. HOUSTON: —at the same time? That's the woman known as **Bess Jacobs**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor **Joseph Cohen**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Cohen a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

DR. WINTHERS: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you can identify or know this party?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, that is Professor Joseph Cohen.

MR. HOUSTON: And that is the man that sat in the Communist Party meetings with you?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And he is a teacher at the University of Washington?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like, Mr. Chairman to introduce this picture as an exhibit one.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will be—set this in the record and identified as exhibit number three.

(WHEREUPON picture referred to was admitted into evidence as Exhibit No. 3.)

MR. HOUSTON: Now I will ask do you know Professor **Joseph Butterworth**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you were, doctor?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And he attended these meetings with you?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And, do you know this Professor Joseph Butterworth, well?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: He's in the same department that you—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —are, is he not? There'd be no question but what that's the same—

DR. WINTHER: No.

### Attend Communist Party Meetings With Federal Housing Administrator

MR. HOUSTON: —same Professor **Joseph Butterworth** still at the University of Washington?

Now, do you—did you know a young man by the name of **Jesse Epstein**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Jesse Epstein a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: And he attended these Communist—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —Party meetings with you?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that the Jesse Epstein who is now Regional Director for the **Federal Housing Administration**—

DR. WINTHER: I think it is.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Is that the Jesse Epstein that was associated with the Federal Housing here in Seattle for a number of years.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you attend more than one meeting with Epstein?

DR. WINTHER: Oh, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Many meetings. No possibility of a mistake then, was there?

DR. WINTHER: Not in my opinion. I make the same qualification I made before—that is, I assume that he was.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a **Professor Maud Beal**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was—is that a Miss or a Mrs.?

DR. WINTHER: Miss.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she a member of the Communist—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —Party at the time you were?

MR. HOUSTON: And did you attend more than one meeting with her?

DR. WINTHER: I'm sure I did.

MR. HOUSTON: No question as to her—

DR. WINTHER: I don't think so.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What was the answer again on that?

THE WITNESS: That I didn't think there was any question about it belonging to that organization at that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Now professor, I don't want to quibble with you or words—I don't want to think that—that's what we want to watch the record because the person who reads it doesn't get to see the emphasis with which you may speak.

Now, there isn't any question in your mind about any of these people testified about, is there?

DR. WINTHER: No sir, there isn't.

MR. HOUSTON: They—in your opinion—were Communists. They met there with you and they handled Communist business.

DR. WINTHER: I assume that they were, and I thought I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Well—you paid dues in the Communist Party, didn't you? And you received a card in the Communist Party, didn't you?

DR. WINTHER: I think I had some sort of an identification—I believe it was a book.

MR. HOUSTON: A book. A little book with stamps in it.

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, doctor, I want to ask you do you know a man by the name of **Selden Menefee**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Selden Menefee a Communist—at the time you were?

DR. WINTHER: I doubt very much that I was ever in a meeting—a group meeting—with Selden. I don't think I was.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't think you were?

DR. WINTHER: I don't think I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever hear him discussed in Party circles?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And how was he discussed?

DR. WINTHER: I don't think I could recall after thirteen years how he was discussed.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, you can't recall whether or not he was accepted at the meetings?

DR. WINTHER: I certainly could not give that evidence, no.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Professor **Melvin Rader**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Did the Party give you any instructions concerning Professor Rader while you were a member? Did you have any—

DR. WINTHER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: —assignment to recruit him into the party?

DR. WINTHER: No—I—No, I don't think I did.

MR. HOUSTON: You were not told to try to recruit him into the Party?

DR. WINTHER: No, I'm sure of it.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall any discussion then concerning—

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you tell us what that is?

DR. WINTHER: I recall Melvin Rader being discussed—and I think more than once because of his liberal position, I think they thought it would be desirable to get him into the Party, but he refused. And I think, what they didn't realize was that he drew a very sharp line between accepting the Communist philosophy and that of an honest liberal.

MR. HOUSTON: You would class Professor Melvin Rader as an honest liberal then, in 1936?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I would.

MR. HOUSTON: By the same token would you class these other people as dishonest liberals?

DR. WINTHER: No.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let's not draw any conclusions here.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know **Burton James**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: During the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party did you receive any information concerning **Burton James**?

DR. WINTHER: Not that I recall. Not that would have any bearing on this issue.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know **Mrs. Burton James**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you receive any information while you were member of the Communist Party that would lead you to believe that she was or was not a member of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Giving testimony as I am under oath, I certainly couldn't say that I had any evidence that she was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: I didn't ask you—I don't want to quibble with you, shouldn't ask you—in other words you formed no opinion then as to whether or not **Burton James** or his wife were members of the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: I think I formed all sorts of opinions, but in that respect they are opinions that I wouldn't trust. I would like to limit my testimony to what I believe to be facts.

MR. HOUSTON: Well we certainly want the facts, and only the facts, Doctor.

MR. HOUSTON: In your Communist Party meetings was the **Repertoire Playhouse** discussed from time to time.

DR. WINTHER: I do not recall that phase.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you describe one or two of these meetings for us? They were held in various houses, were they not?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, they were.

MR. HOUSTON: And different of you people would be given different assignments to perform?

DR. WINTHER: The most that I recall about those meetings, they concerned themselves with the discussion of—discussion of books—reports on various books that concerned themselves with national and international affairs. It was—in that respect it was, I suppose, a typical professor's organization—a great deal of talk.

### Cost Him 5% of Salary

MR. HOUSTON: Does it cost any amount of money to belong to the Communist Party?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You say it did?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, it did.

MR. HOUSTON: About—well, was it a small amount, or quite a little bit considerable?

DR. WINTHER: Oh, I think it varied—perhaps five per cent.

MR. HOUSTON: Five per cent of your salary?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, perhaps.

MR. HOUSTON: Did they make demands on you for additional money from time to time?

DR. WINTHER: Occasionally, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did **Garland Ethel** take any lead in any of the Communist Party work?

DR. WINTHER: I can not recall a single specific thing that **Garland Ethel**—I think he must have had discussions on various books and problems, but I can't recall anything specific.

MR. HOUSTON: Now what about his wife, was she more active than he was?

DR. WINTHER: I don't think his wife was in the party, when I was in it. I don't think she was. Maybe it is a matter of forgetting, but I can't recall her.

MR. HOUSTON: That is my fault. I have mixed two of them up here, for the minute, Doctor.

MR. HOUSTON: You testified that you don't believe **Mrs. Ethel** was a member of the party at the time you were.

DR. WINTHER: I didn't think so, no.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was **Harold Eby** very active in the party?

DR. WINTHER: It's an almost impossible question to answer, because there's nothing specific to point to as an action, because—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment, may we ask the State Patrol to do something about this heckler outside (Referring to noise caused by a motorcycle on outside of the building).

Now proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, by being active, I mean they identified themselves clearly as a part of it.

DR. WINTHER: Oh, yes, there is no doubt about that.

MR. HOUSTON: And that is true of his wife, too, **Lenna**?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I think so.

### University Members Instructed to Vote for Browder

MR. HOUSTON: Do you remember when **Earl Browder** ran for President, in 1936?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And did the Communist Party support **Earl Browder** at that particular time?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, they did.

MR. HOUSTON: And was that discussed and carried on in your meetings there at the University?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, we were urged to vote for **Earl Browder**. **Mrs. Wintther** and I did not, and it happened that there was only one vote for **Mr. Browder** in the Montlake district where I lived. This, I think, **Mr. Rapport** discovered, because in an open meeting discussing the election he made invective remarks about people who had not voted for **Mr. Browder**. Having a guilty conscience, I thought he was referring to me, on that particular issue.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you kept certain of the books of the members of your unit, is that right?

DR. WINTHER: For a short time I think I did.

MR. HOUSTON: You collected some dues?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I think so. I think perhaps for a month or so,—I can't recall.

MR. HOUSTON: You were in a position to know who was and who was not members, as a result of that?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I was.

MR. HOUSTON: These people you have testified to—

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —you did collect dues from?

DR. WINTHER: Yes.

### Should Get Party Consent for Vacation

MR. HOUSTON: You testified that you took a vacation in the year 1936, was that right?

DR. WINTHER: Yes, I left Seattle right after school, in 1936.

MR. HOUSTON: And did you have any conversation with **Mr. Rapport** when you returned, concerning this vacation?

DR. WINTHER: I'm not sure. I know the general attitude was that a man was not supposed to take a vacation without the consent of the Party, which meant **Mr. Rapport**.

MR. HOUSTON: They had quite iron discipline then, did they not, in the party?

DR. WINTHER: It didn't work very well.

MR. HOUSTON: It didn't work very well?

MR. HOUSTON: **Mr. Chairman**, I believe that is all from this witness, unless you and the Committee have some questions, I suggest that he be excused from the subpoena,—that's up to the committee.

You don't intend to leave town in the next week or so, do you?

THE WITNESS: No.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: On the understanding, Doctor Winther, that you will be on call if the Committee wishes to hear from you again, I will release you from the subpoena and wish to thank you sincerely for your appearance here.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much.

**Mr. Chairman**, I suggest that we have about a ten-minute recess.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The Committee will be in recess for ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The Committee will be in session. Will you call your next witness?

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. MABEL WINTHER

**MRS. MABEL WINTHER**, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard the instructions that were given to the previous witnesses, that this hearing is being recorded, did you not, Mrs. Winther?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: If you will comply and try to speak distinctly.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MRS. WINTHER: My name is Mabel Eline Winther.

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell Eline?

MRS. WINTHER: Eline.

MR. HOUSTON: Eline. Winther, Winther.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: You are the wife of **Dr. Winther** that preceded you—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —on the stand? How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MRS. WINTHER: Since 1924.

MR. HOUSTON: 1924. Mrs. Winther, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, I have.

### Names Associates As Former Members

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall when you joined the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, it's a long time ago, but I believe—it's my belief that I attended my first unit meeting in June of 1935.

MR. HOUSTON: June of 1935.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, that's what I believe.

MR. HOUSTON: That's the closest you—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —can fix the date. Now did you attend very many meetings of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I was in the Party until the fall of 1936, and I believe that we had two absences from Seattle during that time. That's my belief. I think that we were away in the summer of 1935, and also in the summer of 1936. That's what I think; it could be checked, because I could really—

MR. HOUSTON: With the exception of these two vacations, though, you attended your meetings quite regularly?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, I think I attended rather regularly. I was taking classes at the University, and I was very busy, and I may have missed meetings, I don't recall.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, where would these meetings be held?

MRS. WINTHER: They were held, I think, turnabout at various homes of the members of the unit.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever have them meet at your home?

MRS. WINTHER: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: Out at your home. Now, why did you join the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I joined the Communist Party because my husband had been inducted into the Party, and I considered that sufficient reason to enter it because I didn't think that it would be a good state of affairs to have him a member of a secret organization to which I was a stranger.

MR. HOUSTON: You have joint ventures and you are very close, and—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —you went in because—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, I knew all the people concerned.

MR. HOUSTON: No great ideological reasons, or anything like that?

MRS. WINTHER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you mentioned meetings. Do you—did you attend the same meetings your husband attended?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And you attended with him.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, we were members of the same unit.

MR. HOUSTON: The same unit. Now, do you know which unit this was?

MRS. WINTHER: I don't know that they had names or classifications. I just know that it was the only unit I ever attended.

MR. HOUSTON: Was—did you recognize other people in the unit meetings?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Were they University professors and their wives, in the majority?

MRS. WINTHER: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Professor **Garland Ethel**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did Professor Ethel attend these Communist Party meetings that you attended?

MRS. WINTHER: I don't remember whether Professor Ethel was a member of my unit. I know that he was a member of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: You know that he was a member of the Party.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have discussed this with him?

MRS. WINTHER: Oh, yes, I talked to him as one member to another.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Professor **Harold Eby**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have talked and discussed this with him?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, I never had any business dealings, as I remember, with Mr. Eby, but he was around and we met, and I don't think he ever took me into any consultation of any Communist affairs.

MR. HOUSTON: Isn't it a fact that when you wanted to quit the Party Professor Eby is the one you told you were through?

MRS. WINTHER: I don't remember telling anybody I was through with the Party. I was through with it and I don't think I informed anybody about it. That's what I think.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Eby's wife, **Lenna**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was—did she attend these Party meetings that you attended there?

MRS. WINTHER: She was at Communist gatherings, but I—I don't remember that she was ever a member of our unit.

MR. HOUSTON: Of your particular unit.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Party at the time you were?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, she was.

MR. HOUSTON: She was a member of the Party, there, at the time. Do you know Professor **Joseph Cohen**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Joseph Cohen a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

MRS. WINTHER: I thought so, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: You accepted him as such?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: He accepted you as such?

MRS. WINTHER: I don't know.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't know how he accepted you?

MRS. WINTHER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: But he didn't argue with you about it?

MRS. WINTHER: No, we merely talked about it as far as I know.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Professor **Joseph Butterworth**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he attend these meetings, too?

MRS. WINTHER: As I say, I don't think he was ever a member of my unit.

MR. HOUSTON: Your unit. Was he a member of the Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

### Jesse Epstein Again Named

MR. HOUSTON: He was. Do you know **Jesse Epstein**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Jesse Epstein a member of the Communist Party—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —at the time you were?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And did he attend meetings?

MRS. WINTHER: The first meeting I ever attended, Mr. Epstein was present.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he—

MRS. WINTHER: But I don't remember; I think he was a member of

my unit, for a while, and probably was changed to another one, or something happened, I don't know.

MR. HOUSTON: There is a lot of comings and goings in the different—

MRS. WINTHER: Well, just like any other organization, they are not absolutely standard; they change.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a **Miss Maud Beal**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Miss Maud Beal a member of the Communist Party when you were?

MRS. WINTHER: I assume she was.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she at these meetings?

MRS. WINTHER: She was at the first meeting I attended.

MR. HOUSTON: The first meeting you attended. Do you recall whether she ever attended any others or not?

MRS. WINTHER: I do not.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know **Selden Menefee**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I am not positive.

MR. HOUSTON: You're not positive. Were you ever given any duties to perform in the Party?

### University Professor Delivers Party Literature to Agit-prop

MRS. WINTHER: I was—sometime during my membership in this unit I was made kind of an officer in the unit which is known as Agit-prop. I think later they changed that name to Educational Director.

MR. HOUSTON: What were the duties of the Agit-prop?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, the duties were supposed to be to take care of the Communist literature that was always ready and present at the unit meetings, and if anyone wanted to buy a pamphlet or something of that sort it was my duty while I was Agit-prop to collect the money for these pamphlets from the person who picked it up and turn it in to the—whoever had charge of the funds.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, who did you get the literature from?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, I—the literature was brought sometimes to the meeting of the unit, and a number of times it was brought to my house when I was supposed to take care of it, and on those occasions I remember **Mr. Melville Jacobs** bringing it to me once in a while.

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Melville Jacobs of the University of Washington?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And he would bring you this literature that you were supposed to sell?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes, leave it at my house, and I would take it over to the unit meeting, or sometimes it would be delivered to the unit meeting. That's the way I remember it. It's a long time ago, and that's all I can say.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Melville Jacobs a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of your unit?

MRS. WINTHER: I think he was a member of my unit for a while, but I—I wouldn't like to state it under oath because I might make a mistake there, on my history.

MR. HOUSTON: But you know that he was a member of the Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Oh, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And he did deliver this literature to you?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you know his **wife**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she also a member of the Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I thought so.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know Professor **Angelo Pellegrini**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: That's spelled Pellegrini?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Professor Pellegrini a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And was he a member of your unit?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you know Professor **Joseph Cohen**?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I thought so.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he attend those meetings with you?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, I don't think—I don't remember whether Mr. Cohen was ever a member of my unit, but I—I saw him at unit meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: At unit meetings.

MRS. WINTHER: That's right—I mean at Communist meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: At Communist meetings. Can you identify this picture?

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is that?

MRS. WINTHER: Professor Cohen.

MR. HOUSTON: That is the—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —Professor Joseph Cohen you have reference to now?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is Exhibit No. 3.

MR. HOUSTON: For the record, that is Exhibit No. 3, which the witness has just identified.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you recall your vacation of 1936?

MRS. WINTHER: There was a vacation, I think it was a 1936 vacation on which we took a long trip by car, and—and we were at Sea Island, Georgia,

and came back through the South, and I think we were away a good long time.

MR. HOUSTON: And—

MRS. WINTHER: That was either in 1935 or '36, I would say.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall **Mr. Rapport** having anything to say about your taking this vacation?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, it didn't occur to me at the time that we took our vacation really, because I wasn't thinking very much about my views as a Communist; but I gained the impression when I returned that we had been criticized for taking a vacation without having the permission of the Party and without the consent of the Communist group.

MR. HOUSTON: You were supposed to get the permission of the Party before you took a vacation?

MRS. WINTHER: Well, that was the general impression that I gained. I think that would be true.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you pay dues into the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: I think the dues of a housewife was ten cents a month. I'm not absolutely sure.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have any knowledge of the dues they collected from Dr. Winther?

MRS. WINTHER: No, I never pay any attention to the amount that he disburses.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he ever complain about the amount of the dues?

MRS. WINTHER: No, I don't think so.

MR. HOUSTON: And you got out of the Communist Party at the same time your—

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did any of them come to see you and try to get you to return to the Communist Party?

MRS. WINTHER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: They just let you go and left you alone.

MRS. WINTHER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness, unless the Committee has some questions. I suggest that the same relationship remain with this witness as her husband, the Doctor; I am releasing those witnesses.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, we thank you for appearing, Mrs. Winther; and if you will remain on call, you will be released from the subpoena, but we may find it necessary to call you again. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, the next witness will be on the stand a considerable length of time, several hours; I suggest now that we recess until after lunch.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you—have you determined the time with your witness when he is to appear, before I set the—

MR. HOUSTON: I have tentatively set the date at two o'clock.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess until two o'clock this afternoon.

(Noon Recess)

(2:00 o'clock P. M.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is in session. Any requests to be made of the Committee I would prefer that you make that request in writing because of the volume of material we must process here we can't disrupt our schedule by interfering with it in this way unless it—

A VOICE: I just want to ask a question. As a member of the faculty some of our teachers are finding it impossible to be away from classes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are going to try to do that and if you will give us a list of the ones who are—who find this in conflict with their classroom duties we will see what can be done about it.

And I am going to request that if the demonstration in front of the building becomes annoying to our procedure or interferes with our—conduct of our hearing, I am going to ask that the State Patrol abate the nuisance as it exists in front of the building. We do not care how much they demonstrate as long as it does not interfere with the orderly procedure of this hearing and if the State Patrol will be governed accordingly, if the noise becomes too great, we want you to abate the nuisance.

You will proceed, Mr. Houston, and call your first witness.

JAMES B. MATTHEWS, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:



## TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS

### Former Research Director for Dies Committee

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, did you hear the instructions that I gave the witnesses this morning as to procedure in the box? We are recording this and we ask that you answer audibly and not by nods and that you spell unusual names.

DR. MATTHEWS: I did.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I believe that we will wait for the State Patrol to abate that noise. It is impossible to record the testimony accurately with that noise going on and we'll wait until that is done.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

DR. MATTHEWS: J. B. Matthews. Matthews.

MR. HOUSTON: That's right. That has two t's in it, doesn't it? We usually get it with the one.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, where do you live, doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: In New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: And, how long have you lived there?

DR. MATTHEWS: Since 1935.

MR. HOUSTON: Where did you go to school, doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: I went to school at Asbury College in Kentucky, Columbia University, Purdue University, Union Theological Seminary, Vienna University, and several other places.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what degrees do you have, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: A.B., M.A., B.D., S.T.N., Ph.D.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your business, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: Researching Communism.

MR. HOUSTON: Research in the field of Communism?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And do you have offices and a staff to do that work?

DR. MATTHEWS: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your background in that field, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: From 1938 until 1945 I was the Director of Research for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities at the House of Representatives, popularly known as the Dies Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: You set up that committee and were their first research director and chief investigator, is that correct?

DR. MATTHEWS: No, the United States Congress set it up but I was their Research Director during the entire life of the Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have continued right on doing your research and work in that field?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct and for a number of years prior to my association with the Dies Committee I had carried on research in the field of Communism and other subversive organizations such as the Nazi Fronts which existed prior to the World War.

### Leading Fellow Traveler in United States

MR. HOUSTON: As a matter of fact you were, from time to time, a member of a good many of the Communist Front Organizations, were you not?

DR. MATTHEWS: For a period, I was perhaps, the leading Fellow Traveler in the United States. I do not say that boastfully, but very regretfully.

MR. HOUSTON: I think I have heard it mentioned that you belonged to some 96 different front organizations, did you not?

DR. MATTHEWS: I have listed them in print. That is approximately correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor, are you familiar with the declared objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education?

DR. MATTHEWS: I think I am as a result of extensive research into the literature of the Communist movement.

### Communist Party Objectives in Education

MR. HOUSTON: Would you detail for us some of the objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education, how they intend to do it, what they intend to do?

DR. MATTHEWS: By way of a preface I would like to call your attention to one of the very familiar passages in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, adoption of which is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year.

The closing paragraph of the Communist Manifesto says the Communist disdains to conceal their views and names. When Marx and Engels wrote that statement they did not anticipate the establishment of organizations which today have come to be known as common stocks. The very essence of a Communist Federal Convention is a concealment of those objectives.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I am going to ask for the State Patrol to take drastic measures, and if the demonstration continues in front of the Armory, I am going to ask for the arrest, disorderly conduct charges of the participants.

We are not going to tolerate a Communist interference with the legislative process, and we are going to see that that decision is upheld, if we have to move in the entire State Patrol.

Do you wish to continue now, until that is definitely settled?

MR. HOUSTON: You were discussing the organization of the front controls and them not having been contemplated by Marx and Engels.

DR. MATTHEWS: Yes, in that their chief characteristic is concealment. Marx and Engels undoubtedly did not foresee their establishment when they said that Communists disdained to conceal. At the same time, it is true that if you survey sufficiently Communist literature, you will find somewhere all of the objectives set forth; and that is true in the field of education as well as in other fields. Somewhere in black and white, the Communists have set down what they are about to do, or trying to do. In "**The Communist**," which is the—or was, the most official Party publication some years ago, in the issue of May, 1937,—

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, if you wish, I think we have it right downstairs.

DR. MATTHEWS: I have the quotations that I wish to use from the document, but I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that particular document is of sufficient importance to be incorporated officially in your records. It does set forth the objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education to some extent.

DR. MATTHEWS: Now, that is in the issue of May, 1937. **"A People's Movement around the schools can thus transform the latter into popular forms for progressive social action, ultimately into forms for the revolution."**

Now that is precisely the over-all objective of the Communist Party with reference to the schools of this country, to transform them as rapidly as possible by infiltration into forms which may ultimately be used for the Communist revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this same article, in **"The Communist"** of May, 1937, we find the following: **"Communist teachers are, therefore, faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves."** End of that particular quotation.

And there you have explicitly set forth in an official Communist document, the idea that **teachers who are Communists, must by and large conceal their membership in the Communist Party; and that is the situation as we find it today.**

To quote further from that same article: **"Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings, at the least risk of exposure."** That's the end of that quotation.

It is sometimes alleged that a teacher of literature, or a teacher of mathematics, or a teacher of history, may be a member of the Communist Party, and at the same time not inject any Communist doctrine into his or her classroom teaching. That may be true in some cases; but at least the **objective of the Party as set forth in this particular document is that every Communist teacher that has mastered Communist doctrine, is skillfully to inject it into their teachings, with no limits set forth as to the field in which the teacher is a professional.**

### Demonstrators Are Warned by Chairman

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I suggest that the State Patrol make some arrests out there if this continues. These people are the ones who are supposed to be interested in free speech, and academic freedom, and all the civil rights, and they are giving a typical Communist demonstration of what they really believe.

DR. MATTHEWS: We should not assume that the Communist Party is interested exclusively in the schools of New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other great urban centers, where in this article, or the discussion, they have set forth this view: **"As a means of mobilizing the people in the villages and countryside, steps should be taken to try to send Communist teachers into rural communities, where they should become active in all community organizations."**

Stalin's infiltration of American schools, elementary, secondary, higher, private, public, has been so extensive that many volumes could be written on the subject; but **its over-all objective is to undermine the loyalty of American youth to their traditions, their way of life, and their form of government. In other words, the Kremlin's objective calls for our being softened for immoral, intellectual and military Pearl Harbor.** The extent to which Communists have been successful in infiltrating schools is a matter on which there is some latitude of freedom.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The police organizations, the Highway Patrol and the City Police, are in the process of handling the situation in front of the building at the present moment and we will be at ease for about five

minutes to see if that will be—see if the conditions out there will be cleared up before we proceed with our testimony.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we attempt to proceed? I think the situation is in hand.

MR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Houston has produced a copy of **"The Communist"** for May, 1937, which contains an article by **Richard Frank** entitled **"The Schools and the People's Front"** which is the article from which I have quoted. I would like to continue for a moment with the objectives in the field of education for which have been set forth, in print, by the Communist Party. I have in my hand an official pamphlet of the Communist Party entitled the **"Road to Mass Organization of Proletarian Children."** Several major objectives for educating children are set forth in this pamphlet.

### Communist Objectives in Educating Children

On page 16, we find the following: **"The decisive turn toward mass work must be particularly expressed among children in Atheist groups."** That is point one in the educational program for the children and young people.

On Page 19, this pamphlet states **"Our children's leagues must make it their tasks to explain to the masses of children the importance of defending the fatherland of the proletarian children all over the world, the U.S.S.R., the will and significance of the Red Army as an army of the world Proletariat."** That's point two in the educational program of this pamphlet. **The loyalty to the Soviet Union and treason to the United States.**

It has become a commonplace, Mr. Chairman, to point out that the Communist Party in the United States at the present time is only secondarily, if at all, a party devoted to an economic and social program. **It is primarily, if not exclusively, an arm of the foreign office of the present Soviet government and any man who—or woman who is a member of the Communist Party or supports it in any way whatsoever is either an agent of, or the stooge of agents of, the foreign office of the Soviet government.** I reiterate what has been said so frequently but I think it is part of this record in connection with teachers and schools.

Again in this pamphlet we find the following:

**"A special struggle should be waged at home by the children. The children should try to win over the adults. This activity requires also a struggle in the family against backward ideas such as religion, petty bourgeois tendencies. Through the rejection of bourgeois holidays and customs the children can become the exponent of Communist ideas at home."**

That sounds fantastic to some Americans but there it is in black and white.

It means simply that ten and twelve year old children, the age group to which this pamphlet is addressed and with which it is concerned, are to give their parents lessons in dialectical materialism, and in monolithic loyalty to Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. That is an objective in the educational field.

Again, in this same pamphlet. **Point three for young American students, as I put it out, was rejection of parental authority and respect.**

Point four. The finest program for youthful students would organize shooting practice, exercises and military games with the objects of developing the faculties of self-defense among working class children. That's point four. **The training of American children for Civil War.**

The date on this pamphlet was 1929. It is the official decisions of the **fourth International Conference of Leaders of Communist Children's Leagues**, Moscow, September, 1929, and the resolution of the **Enlarged Plenum of the Young Communist International**, Moscow, December, 1929.

The extent to which the Communists have been successful in penetrating schools is to some extent a matter of opinion and **I should like to make it clear that in all that I have to say there is no reflection, direct or implied, upon the vast body of American teachers. That ought to go without saying. Precisely as the overwhelming majority of all Americans are thoroughly loyal, so the overwhelming majority of all teachers are thoroughly loyal to American institutions.**

In my records, which have been compiled over a period of some years, **there are approximately 5,000 teachers, mostly in higher institutions of learning, colleges and universities, who are being affiliated with Communist organizations or Communist club organizations.** Generally speaking, that may be considered a small group, but I should like to point out that if in 1938, '40, and '41 it had been discovered that 5,000 American professors had been affiliated with Nazi led organizations it would have been a national scandal of the greatest proportions. If 500 had been found so affiliated it would have constituted a scandal from coast to coast.

Now, there's some—seems to be still some reluctance on the part of well-meaning Americans to recognize what is becoming daily a more and more obvious fact, that if there were any differences between Naziism and Communism, Communism is the more brutal police state of the two. And that is not said by way of condoning anything in the Nazi program.

Stalin exercises a—an authority in a police state—the like of which Hitler never attained. And the servants of Stalin in the United States, whether in the field of Education or any other field, are the servants of a police state as brutal, if not more brutal than that of Hitler.

Not all of these five thousand academicians to whom I have referred are Party members, by any means. It would be my considered opinion that a relatively small proportion of them actually hold membership cards in the Communist Party. For the most part they are what we call Fellow Travelers, and they are Fellow Travelers in varying degrees. Some of them have traveled with the Communist Party with a full understanding of the nature and consequences of their political behavior. Others are dupes—gullible stooges—who despite their supposed discipline of mind do not comprehend in the slightest degree the fact that they serve the cause of this fifth column.

### Attitude of Communist Party Concerning Professors

The Communist Party, itself has understood from the very beginning that professors were a rather dangerous group to have in the Communist Party in too large numbers. One of the witnesses on the stand this morning here, intimated that such was the case at the University of Washington.

Now, Stalin himself once said that "professors were held back because there would have been produced a state of frustration in which the Party would have been inundated with professors and students." The Communist history in the United States is replete with the expulsions of intellectuals—especially professors who made a brave effort to submit themselves to the disciplines of the Communist Party, but who found that they could not clie their metal heels fast enough and loud enough to suit the top sergeants of the new social order.

These professors do not stay long in the party. It is, I think, rather the common rule, with the exception, that they're in the party six months to eighteen months. Nevertheless there is a core of membership in the academic world extending over a long period of years. It was significant that the testimony before this Committee this morning brought out the fact that certain members of the Communist Party, who are on the faculty of the University of Washington, have been members of the Communist Party for approximately ten years. That is not an unusual length of period for some of the professors to remain members of the Communist Party.

I say then that the Party very often keeps the professor at arm's length and would prefer to have a Fellow Traveler than a professor who is a member of the Communist Party. That is by way of explanation of the five thousand odd to whom I have referred who have had tens of thousands of individual affiliations with Communist **Front organizations.**

Precisely why a professor would belong to the Communist Party is a question which is asked very frequently and I think it deserves a very careful answer. It certainly deserves the kind of an answer that we're not yet prepared to give. We have research institutions, methods, facilities—which go into the behavior of mice and insects of all kinds, but we have not yet—in the field of psychiatry, for example, tried to find out why a man or a woman becomes a Communist. I think it is largely a matter for the field of psychiatry. Perhaps some of the psychiatrists will get around to researching in that field before long—and I'm not saying this facetiously.

Undoubtedly there are kinds and degrees of frustration which are found in the academic world. I didn't tell you, Mr. Councilor, that for fourteen years I was a member of faculties of institutions of higher education, so that I have not only met the professors but I have been a professor. These frustrations express themselves in various ways, but one of the ways in which they express themselves is to lead professors to say, as **Rexford Guy Tugwell** said in 1932, that when he was a young man he decided to roll up his sleeves and make the world over. A quotation which was used frequently against Mr. Tugwell in the early days of the New Deal. Well, Professor Tugwell is now at the University of Chicago and he's still rolling up his sleeves as a leader in the Wallace for President movement. I think what Professor Tugwell said is true of many academicians. They do not feel that their position in society gives them a responsibility for making the wheels go around. They are not charged with the management of business, economic affairs. They have more time to think up Utopias—to draw blue prints of an ideal world order. They derive a sense of power out of imagining at least, that they are part of a movement to tear down what is, with its injustices and faults and failures and build an ideal new world. I'm sure that many of us have run into, if we haven't been ourselves, precisely people of that mind.

If we were the architects of the New World Order, then it follows that by definition we are more powerful than the people who are in charge of the status quo—and since professors as a rule have no responsibility for managing the status quo, so far as the economic order is concerned they derive their sense of power from the thinking that they are going to build the New Social Order. I don't mean to say, for a minute, that that applies to all professors who join the Communist Party. There undoubtedly are many who have got into the Party in a way that is described in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission, which I know the members of this committee have read.

In that report it is made clear that professors in Canada were originally motivated by commonly accepted ideals of humanity, justice and tolerance. They found themselves unwittingly associated more and more with agents of Moscow who concealed their real objectives—who drew them on. I recall the testimony of **Mr. J. S. Benning** in the report of the **Canadian Royal Commission**. Mr. Benning said that he started out as one stuffing envelopes for some **Spanish Aid Committee** and for the **League Against War and Fascism**. But eventually, after a number of years, he found himself a part of a network of spies trying to steal the atomic bomb for the Soviet government. That is, I think, often the road traveled by the person who gets into the Communist Party in the academic world.

He starts out with a thoroughly proper and noble ideal and is led along the road to espionage by steps which are hardly recognizable even to a trained academic mind, until he finds that he has gone so far that it's too late to turn back without suffering consequences that belong or come to those that do turn back.

Why anyone who is situated, as the majority of American college professors are situated should be a part of Stalin's fifth column in the United States will remain a shocking thing despite all the explanations that can be set forth for it. And certainly, with a campus as beautiful as that of the University of Washington; with associations which are available there; with incomes that are certainly above a subsistence level—that any member of the faculty of the University of Washington should be a member of the Communist Party is a shocking thing, particularly in the year 1948. And I think it will be recognized by this Committee that it is a different thing to some degree, to be a member of the Communist Party in 1948 than it was in 1936 or in 1926.

Those who studied the objectives of the Communist Party in 1926 with sufficient thoroughness knew then precisely what we all know today—the nature of Communism. There was no real excuse for ignorance in 1926, but the leaders of the Soviet government have made it practically impossible for anybody anywhere in the world to misunderstand the objectives of world Communism, today. So that those who continue in their membership in the Communist Party in 1948, it seems to me, have a different degree of responsibility than those who were members in 1936.

I have made a tabulation of the leading Fellow Travelers in the United States. This tabulation covers approximately one thousand Communist-Front organizations and it was derived in this fashion. Any person who has sponsored or been affiliated with twenty or more of those Communist front organizations is by definition set down as a Fellow Traveler.

**I find that the top one hundred Fellow Travelers in the United States, today, include twenty-three college professors and only six officials of labor unions. And that, I think is significant. Twenty-three college professors, by far the largest number in any category, among the one-hundred top Fellow Travelers in the United States.**

I pointed that out recently to a distinguished refugee from Czechoslovakia, who called my attention to the fact that precisely that situation had existed in Czechoslovakia, and when it came time for the **Fifth Column in Czechoslovakia to take over that unfortunate state and place it under the heel of the Russian despotism, the professors led the list of those who were in the Fifth Column of Stalin.**

By way of another illustration, in April of this year another revolution took place, or a riot, in the City of Bogota in Colombia. **The leader of the mob that**

**harangued the multitude and led to the killing of more than ten thousand people on the streets of Bogota, was the President of the University of Bogota, and his leading agitators were from the student body and faculty of the University of Bogota.**

I point these illustrations out to show that it is not a meaningless stand to support twenty front organizations of the Communist Party in the year 1948; that other professions in that list of a hundred top Fellow Travelers in the United States include twelve clergymen, and the clergymen rank next to the professors as top fellow-travelers. Well, it's been known for some time that some of the most influential Communist Party members in the United States are members of the clergy. I examined **Mr. Earl Browder** on the witness stand myself some years ago, and Mr. Browder testified under oath that the Communist Party had a number of clergymen who were members in its ranks.

There are a half a dozen lawyers in that list of fellow-travelers. There are at least five members of what we sometimes call the "idle rich," the people who do not work for a living in the sense that most of us do, but who have rather larger than normal incomes and for some strange reasons, I think in all the four cases, the psychiatric, are leaders in the Communist movement in the United States.

Certainly two of the most distinguished such fellow-travelers are **Corliss Lamont**, whose late father was the head of the house of J. P. Morgan, and who is himself a professor at Columbia University—I beg your pardon, he is an instructor at Columbia University and has the status of an instructor for approximately twenty years, and while he has supported with his money and time and influence, the communist movement.

Now **Frederick Vanderbilt Field**, who is certainly one of the leading Communists among the rich, was the head of the **American Peace Mobilization** just prior to the entrance of Russia into the recent World War. Now Frederick Vanderbilt Field gets his millions from the Vanderbilt fortune, as well as from the Field fortune.

I say there are three from the idle rich who are in this category of top fellow-travelers in the United States.

### Attorney General Lists Subversive Organizations

Recently the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Tom Clark, published two lists of subversive organizations. One of those lists appeared in December—on December the 4th, 1947; the other appeared this spring. One of the organizations found to be subversive by the Attorney General, whose opinion was based upon extensive investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was the **National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**. Among the sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship are forty-five leading educators in the United States; and I say they are leading because I found that every one of the forty-five is listed in Who's Who in America. They are not small fry in the academic world.

On December the 4th, the Attorney General of the United States pronounced this organization subversive. In June of this year there were still forty-one of those outstanding academicians on this letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. What happened to the other four? Well, one of the four, the President of the University of Delaware, died four and a half years ago, and yet there's his name on the new letterhead. Another was the President of the University of Toledo; he died three years ago. Another was a distinguished professor at the University of California; he died

two years ago. Another was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of St. Lawrence University in New York State; he died two years ago. That's leaving only forty-one. I can't vouch for the statement that all forty-one are still alive. They are certainly not alive to their—the interests of their country, but there they are.

**There are only about a hundred and fifty sponsors of this subversive organization. Forty-five of the names on the list are of distinguished educators.**

That brings up a point which I should like to emphasize, because it goes to the heart of this business of why the Communist Party wants to have such a large percentage of Fellow-Travelers among distinguished educators. You see, obviously the subversive front, the **National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**, had not communicated with those four deceased gentlemen for at least a period of two years, and in the case of one for four and a half years.

There is little or no connection between the sponsor of a Communist front organization and the organization itself subsequent to the time the sponsor agreed to lend his name. That is the beginning and end of the relationship. It is obvious, therefore, that the Communist Party desires primarily to use the prestige of the academic world to further its subversive purposes; and probably avoids communicating with its sponsors subsequent to the time they lend their names, lest some of the sponsors should find out what the organization is up to. That will exculpate to some degree many of the sponsors of these organizations unless you consider it a grave responsibility for any person to lend his name to an organization in this period when it has become a matter of public knowledge that hundreds of Communist fronts are working throughout the length and breadth of the land. Since that is true, there would seem to be some degree of real responsibility attached to the lending of one's name to an organization.

I reiterate that if distinguished citizens were as careless about lending their names to Nazi organizations, well, they would hear from the matter and hear from it in the strongest fashion from many quarters.

### Educators Support Party Objectives

Behind this widespread use of professors' names to support the interest and objectives of the Communist Party, there is a false notion that scholarship in one particular field carries with it extraordinary political wisdom in all fields. Thus a mathematician, an astronomer, a nuclear physicist, an historian or a geologist, is heard with respect, unfortunately, when he pontificates upon political questions, though his competence in the field of politics may be less worthwhile than the young man who sits there in the front.

We have some very distinguished examples of this. **Albert Einstein**, who certainly has earned the right to the greatest distinction in his particular scientific field, rarely lets the month go by that he does not sound off on some political question. His name leads all the rest in these lists of sponsors.

Last year Moscow's "**Pravda**" published an honor roll of eleven Americans who were alleged to be outstanding in their "sincere friendship for the Soviet Union." The name of **Albert Einstein** of Princeton, and the name of **Ralph Barton Perry** of Harvard, were on this list of very dubious honor.

To take one more example of a professor who writes a great deal on political subjects, we have the case of **Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**, of Harvard University. Now Professor Schlesinger writes in "**Life**" magazine, "The faults and injustices in our present system make

freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia." That's in an issue of "**Life**" magazine. It's a publication of Mr. Henry R. Luce. Just last year. Such an observation is worthy of as much intellectual respect as we pay to the baby prattle of the infants who used to appear on a radio program called **Juvenile Jury**.

Just who are the freedom-loving Americans who look wistfully towards Russia? Of course the Harvard professor's observation was utterly false, and totally devoid of political wisdom, despite the fact that it was dignified by publication in Mr. Luce's magazine.

I think in connection with these professors who play with the experts in politics because they are good at something else, we might very well recognize that Nero may have been the best violinist in Rome, but that is an irrelevant consideration when we come to evaluate his place in history, and I dare say that the same may be said of many of these professors, such as the distinguished **Albert Einstein**, when we come to evaluate his position in the world of tomorrow. He devises his mathematical formulae while the world burns.

### Guilt by Association

Communists and their supporters argue that there is no such thing as guilt by association. Numerous radio commentators derive the notion that there could be any indiscretion of any kind in associating with other people. The association of these Fellow-Travelers in the academic world with the front organizations of the Communist Party is, I think, under the ban of the following quotations from an authoritative source.

The Attorney General of the United States in the government's brief for the deportation of **Harry Bridges** in 1942 said: "Testimony of some organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate, refined objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry out its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution."

The overwhelming evidence available on the subjects supports to the hilt that particular statement of the Attorney General of the United States. Front organizations are a half-way station between the status quo and the Communist Revolution. They are used by the Communist Party hypocritically pending the time when they think they can seize power through a revolution. If that definition is correct it certainly means that professors who associate with those organizations have some degree of guilt by virtue of association.

The professors, it appears, have a penchant for signing their names to manifestos. This last type of behavior may be varied.

Some of them probably like to see their names in print as many other citizens do, including politicians.

At any rate the singular manifestation of the inferiority complex is high in the teaching profession. Not every signer may be considered a Communist, or even a Communist sympathizer, but each to some degree aids and abets the Communist cause.

The Communist Party affords the amplest opportunities for those who like to sign their names. Hardly a week passes that the party does not issue some manifesto, print some letterhead, call some conference of Congress, send some telegram or circulate some petition. A student of Communism soon learns to spot the Communist words in these documents, partly by the names

which appear on them and that's why the professors help us out. By association they lead us to the origins of the document of the front organizations.

There are many academic administrators are callously indifferent to the fact that Russia and the United States are now engaged in a so-called "cold" war which threatens to become a "hot" war, or at least it would appear that they are insensitive to this fact in view of what they permit on their campuses. I could give many illustrations of this but I cite only one.

Several months ago the Secretary of State, **General George Caplan Marshall**, made one of his principal-policy addresses at the University of California, Los Angeles. The University authorities invited the **Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman** to deliver the invocation on this important occasion. Fritchman is now a Unitarian clergyman in Los Angeles but a few months ago he was forced out of his position as editor of the "**Christian Register**." For a number of years, many members of the Unitarian Church have been making strenuous protests against the Communist activities of editor Fritchman. The controversy within the church came to a head when Fritchman prepared an editorial which was sharply critical of present-day United States Foreign Policy and which followed closely the line of the Communist Party.

Editor Fritchman wrote: "Our occupation of bases in the Pacific, the continued presence of our military advisors and military equipment in China, the fortification of the frozen wastes of Northern Canada; these things make our protests at Soviet expansionism less than impressive in the eyes of world citizens."

The entire editorial which resulted in the ousting of Fritchman from his editorship was a direct slap at the Foreign Policy of General Marshall. And yet, the authorities of the University of California invite that very man to deliver the invocation upon an occasion which was conceded to have world-wide significance because it was the occasion for delivery of a speech of major significance in the field of foreign policy.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** I will not tolerate any demonstration in the rear of the room.

**DR. MATTHEWS:** There are approximately 125,000 clergymen in the United States but the one most inappropriate selection for the occasion was the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman. To say that many residents of the West Coast were shocked is to put it mildly. When the matter was called to the attention of the **U.C.L.A.** authorities, some of them, at least, simply shrugged their indifference, an attitude not uncommon to academic administrators when efforts are made to alert them to the fact that some 5,000 Communists and fellow-travelers are members of their faculties.

### A Puppet Government Endows a University

Very early in his administration at **Columbia University**, **President Dwight D. Eisenhower** has been confronted with this problem of Communism on the Columbia University Campus. I don't know what President Eisenhower is going to do about the fact that one of the Communists from the University of Washington is on his summer school faculty this summer, a **Professor Herbert Phillips**, but if he does no more than he did in the case a week ago he will not do anything.

Recently the Polish government, a subservient puppet government if there ever was one in the world, completely subservient to the Soviet government offered the sum of \$30,000 to Columbia University to establish a chair of

Polish language and literature. The first \$10,000 installment was paid at a cocktail party by the Polish Ambassador, a cocktail party given in the apartment of **Professor Ernest J. Simmons** of Columbia University. Now, Professor Simmons was for many years at Cornell University and was exposed as the leading academic propagandist for Soviet Russia many years ago. He has recently transferred to **Columbia University** where he is now the head of the Slovak department.

But to get on with the story. The money—the first \$10,000 was paid down. Columbia University accepted the gift from this Communist government to establish a chair.

### Professor Resigns in Protest

Whereupon a patriotic professor by the name of **Arthur P. Coleman**, Coleman, who had been a professor at Columbia University in the field of Polish language and literature for 20 years offered his resignation to President Eisenhower in protest against the acceptance of such a gift. President Eisenhower accepted the resignation and in doing so completely and shamefully evaded the issue which the professor had raised. The sole issue being that Columbia University was accepting a monetary gift from the Polish government. President Eisenhower replied that it was in line with the policy of Columbia University to establish chairs which would train students in the culture of other countries and that's all he said. He didn't say it was in line with the policy of Columbia University to accept monies from Nazi, Fascists and Communist governments to establish such chairs which was the only issue involved.

Now it is a matter of reliable report, based upon investigations which will eventually be disclosed, that **this is the beginning of an effort on the part of countries behind the iron curtain to establish chairs of culture in leading American universities**. They have simply started off with Columbia University. **By filling these chairs with academicians sympathetic to the countries whose culture they are supposed to teach, those countries will acquire in the academic world in the United States a representative who will not be required to register with the state department as a foreign agent because he is being paid indirectly by the foreign government—by the good offices of Columbia University with the approval of President Eisenhower.**

Now that is one of the newest tricks that the Communists are up to in the academic world and when you read the report of the **Royal Canadian Commission** you will see similar tricks performed years ago. This is simply the newest one.

The people of America owe a debt of credit to a professor who gives up the 20-year position with a good income to stand for the principle of Americanism against the encroachments of the Communists.

### New Front Organization

The latest front organization which has achieved a national significance and organization is the **National Wallace for President Committee** and I say that advisedly, Mr. Chairman, that the National Wallace for President Committee is a Communist Front organization. The complete Communist control of the National Wallace for President Committee is as clear as the rising sun on a cloudless day.



I have in my hands a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the **National Wallace for President Committee** dated June 18th, 1948. It is signed by eight college and university professors. They are: **Theodore Brameld**, Brameld, professor at the New York University; **Frank S. Freeman**, Freeman, a professor at Cornell University; **Philip Klein**, Klein, a professor at the New York School of Social Work; **Professor F. O. Matthiessen**, Matthiessen, professor at Harvard University; **Frederick L. Schuman**, Schuman, a professor at Woodland College in Massachusetts; **Colston Warne**, Warne, a professor at Amherst College in Massachusetts; and **Goodwin Watson**, a professor at Columbia University in New York City. These eight prominent men in the academic world, in this letter, are inviting the professors from all over the United States to join a national sponsoring group of distinguished educators supporting **Wallace** for President. That's a quotation.

I should like to read a few of the sentences from this letter because they point out some important matters. "We educate not only in classrooms but in our own political action." That bears upon the question as to whether or not a professor who does not inject Communist doctrine into his classroom is responsible within a degree for his outside or extramural political activity. Well, according to these professors, they claim responsibility for their extramural political activity, as well as for their education in the classrooms. Because—"Because we believe that the platform's main points will meet with your approval and that you share with us the concern to play a role commensurate with our place in our democracy, we herewith ask you to join us as a sponsor of a nation-wide movement on the part of educators to elect Mr. Wallace."

This letter was received by a member of the faculty at the University of Washington.

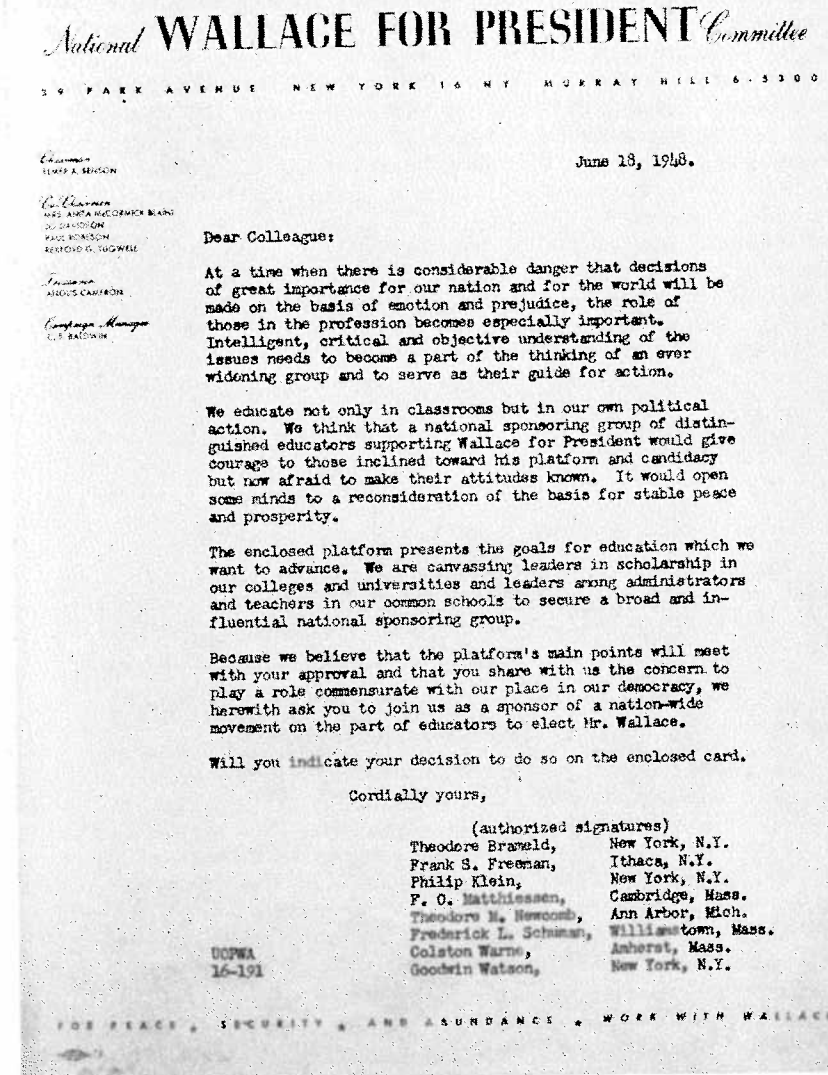
It is my information from inside the National Wallace for President Committee that some two thousand professors across the United States have already responded to this letter, appealing for support of one of the newest of the Communist front organizations.

If you should like to have this in your record as an exhibit, I will be delighted to hand it to you.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the record as **Exhibit No. 4**.

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Wallace for President Committee, dated June 18, 1948, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 4.)



## EXHIBIT 4.

DR. MATTHEWS: Another of the very recent Communist front organizations is known as the **National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions**.

This organization was also set up in June of 1948. I have before me a letter dated June the 7th, 1948, announcing the organization of this particular group. The letter is signed by **Professor Harlow Shapley**, S-h-a-p-l-e-y, Director of the Harvard University Observatory, a distinguished scientist as scientists go, but one of the most prominent fellow-travelers in the entire United States.

This National Council of the Arts and Sciences and Professions has a name which completely belies its purpose; its interest in arts, sciences and professions, according to its own letter, is limited to the election of **Henry Wallace** as President of the United States. Among the prominent supporters of this front, we find in addition to Professor Harlow Shapley, who is chairman, **Professor Linus Pauling** of California, and I shall have more to say about him presently. Pauling. The first name is Linus. Linus Pauling.

Also on this list is **Professor Maud, Maud Slye**, Slye, a professor at the University of Chicago; also **Professor Albert Einstein** of Princeton University; also **Melville J. Herskovits**, Herskovits, from Northwestern University; **Professor Frederick L. Schuman** of Williams College; **Professor Curtis D. MacDougal**, MacDougal, of the University of Chicago; and **Professor Goodwin Watson** of Columbia University Teachers College. Professor Goodwin Watson's record of Communist affiliations was some years ago the matter of a cause celebra, despite the fact that he had been affiliated with some two-score Communist organizations and enterprises. Professor Watson was placed in charge of the monitoring division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Division of the Federal Communications Commission of the Federal Government; but when his Communist record was disclosed the House of Representatives voted that no part of the appropriations of the Federal Communications Commission should be used to pay the salary of Professor Watson.

After considerable debate, which required more than a year's time, the Senate concurred in that vote, because the House was prepared to abolish the Federal Communications Commission before it would permit with its consent, one penny of this money to go to the payment of this Professor's salary. The Supreme Court, as you probably know, finally held that the bill constituted a bill of attainder, and Professor Watson received his back salary, but not his back position.

He is back at Columbia University where **President Eisenhower's** large group of fellow-travelers, there are several hundred on the campus—

### President Eisenhower Blameless

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** I—Doctor, I would like to have you rephrase that. I would not wish the testimony here to be a personal indictment of Eisenhower to the extent of saying "his" group of fellow-travelers, in that he has just recently—he is a recent—

(Laughter and Applause.)

**THE WITNESS:** Yes, I would be glad to rephrase it any way that accords with the facts.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Yes, I do not wish to indicate that we are endowing him with a responsibility or that he—strike that. That the responsibility of his is greater than would accrue for the time that he has been there. I just want to have the record here appear that we are being as fair with him as possible.

**THE WITNESS:** I think your explanation covers the point, does it not, Mr. Chairman? But, I am wholly in accord with your explanation, and I do not personally—I had not thought personally of holding President Eisenhower personally responsible for the past of **Columbia University**. What he does in the future will be entirely a matter of record.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** Yes, I would want it to be on that basis.

**THE WITNESS:** And judgment will be based—will be based upon that. I also offer as an exhibit, this letterhead of the **National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions**.

**MR. HOUSTON:** Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 5**, and so marked.

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, dated June 7, 1948, was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 5**.)

**DR. MATTHEWS:** Among the organizations which the Attorney General, Mr. Tom Clark, listed as subversive on December the 4th, 1947, was the **Jefferson School of Social Science**, which is the Communist Party's training school in New York City. When this listing was publicized, a group of one hundred and fifty-three professors from various parts of the United States signed a manifesto in defense of the Jefferson School of Social Science against the finding of the Attorney General.

I have here the names and institutions which these professors represent, one hundred and fifty-three of them. They come from **Stanford, Iowa State, Albion, Southern Illinois, Cornell, University of California at L. A., Yale, DePauw, New York University, Brooklyn, Columbia, City College of New York, Harvard, St. Lawrence University, Rollins College, Sarah Lawrence University, Connecticut College, University of Colorado, Tuskegee Institute, Western Reserve University, Hebrew Union College, University of Missouri, University of Illinois, University of Akron, Swarthmore College, Bard College, Northwestern University, Vassar College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Amherst College, Hunter College, University of Pennsylvania, University of Washington** which is represented by **Professor Ralph H. Gundlach**, **Simmons College, New Haven State Teachers College, University of North Carolina, Heidelberg College**—that's in Ohio—**Duke University, Tulane University, Princeton, Mills College, University of Michigan, Oberlin, Pomona College, the California Labor School, Williams College, Linfield College, Roosevelt College of Chicago, University of Cincinnati, Syracuse University, Alabama State Teachers College, Wilberforce University, Rutgers University, and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School.**

Mr. Chairman, I think it's a surprising thing that this group of a hundred and three—a hundred and fifty-three professors representing more than half the states of the union, from a list of such distinguished universities, are rallied to the defense of the Communist Party's Training School against the Attorney General of the United States.

I offer, in case you do not already have the list,—

**MR. HOUSTON:** Mr. Chairman, I submit this as another exhibit, and ask that it be admitted into the record.

**CHAIRMAN CANWELL:** It will be included in the record, and admitted as **Exhibit No. 6**.

(WHEREUPON a list of the signers of the Statement of American Educators, was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 6**.)

### Communist Front Affiliations of Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach

**DR. MATTHEWS:** Since I have called attention to the fact that the name of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach appears on that particular list, I wish to offer a list of the Communist front organizations with which Professor Gundlach



of the University of Washington has been publicly affiliated, according to public records: **The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born**, an organization which Attorney General Clark has recently called a subversive organization;

**The Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges; Committee for Citizenship Rights; Committee for Democratic Far-Eastern Policy**, another organization which Attorney General Tom Clark has pronounced subversive; **Consumers' Union; The National Emergency Conference; The Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo; The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties**, another organization found to be subversive by the Attorney General; **"Science and Society,"** a publication of the Communists for which **Professor Gundlach** has written; **The Spanish Refugee Appeal; The United-American Spanish Aid Committee; The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; The Win-the-Peace Conference;** and a statement defending the Communist Party, about which a word may be in order.

**The Daily Worker** on March the 5th, 1941, published a manifesto described in a banner headline as a statement defending the Communist Party. You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that that was the time when a wave of sabotage strikes under Communist leadership and control swept this country from coast to coast. The President who—**President Roosevelt** denounced these strikes as Communist controlled, and in the case of the **North American Aviation** strike in California, called out the United States Army to take over that plant and put a stop to the strike. There were other equally disastrous strikes led by the Communists in that period—in March of 1941. So that the significance of this statement defending the Communist Party is better understood when we call attention to the fact that it was issued at a time when the Communists were doing everything within their power in the United States to guarantee a victory of Hitler, which was the only significance the strikes had at that particular time. That was when they were working on the side of Hitler against Britain and France, as well as the ultimate interests of the United States.

MR. HOUSTON. Now, doctor, each one of those organizations you listed there has been declared a subversive organization by the Congressional Committee of Congress in a report submitted to and accepted by the House of Representatives of the United States of America, have they not?

DR. MATTHEWS: That's correct. And furthermore—

MR. HOUSTON: And this Consumers' Union, brought clear here has been declared also a subversive organization, organized and controlled by the Communists, has it not, by this same group of authorities?

DR. MATTHEWS: It has, and by other government agencies and official bodies, as well.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit into the record. Let it be incorporated into the record as—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be admitted as **Exhibit No. 7**—it becomes part of the record.

(WHEREUPON document was received and made a part hereof.)

RALPH H. GUNDLACH

|                                                   |                                     |                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born | Sponsor, Cleveland Conference, 1947 | Official Program and Call                 |
| Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges              | Member                              | Letterhead, Sept. 11, 1941                |
| Committee for Citizenship Rights                  | Endorser                            | Letterhead, Jan. 10, 1942                 |
| Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy     | Sponsor                             | Program, Jan. 23, 1948                    |
| Consumers Union                                   | Member, Western section             | CU Reports, August, 1939                  |
| Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo        | Representative individual           | Official booklet                          |
| Defense of Communist Schools                      | Signer of petition                  | April 7, 1948                             |
| National Emergency Conference                     | Sponsor                             | Letterhead, May 19, 1939                  |
| National Emergency Conference                     | Sponsor                             | Program, May 13, 1939                     |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties  | Signer of petition for Bridges      | Booklet, Sept. 11, 1942                   |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties  | Signer of petition                  | January, 1943                             |
| Open Letter on Harry Bridges                      | Signer                              | Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4         |
| Science and Society                               | Book reviewer                       | Summer, 1946, p.308                       |
| Spanish Refugee Appeal                            | Sponsor                             | Folder                                    |
| Statement Defending the Communist Party           | Signer                              | DW, March 5, 1941                         |
| United American Spanish Aid Committee             | Member, executive board             | Letterhead, undated                       |
| Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade           | Signer of protest                   | Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1940               |
| Win-the-Peace Conference                          | Sponsor                             | Program, April 5, 1946, Washington, D. C. |

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Matthews, if you're at a good breaking-off point, I think it would be in order to take a little recess. Now, are you at a breaking-off point?

DR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, may we have a little recess for a short period?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There will be a recess for approximately fifteen minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will resume.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, if you'll proceed, Doctor.

### Professor Denied Admission to United States

THE WITNESS: I wish to revert to the report of the **Canadian Royal Commission** on the spy cases of two years ago. It will be recalled that one of the objectives of the Soviet spy ring in Canada was to obtain information concerning the atomic bomb. One of the results of the uncovering of this spy ring in Canada was the conviction and imprisonment of a British professor, **Allan Nunn May**, Allan Nunn May.

Professor May was a scientist in the field of nuclear fission. He pleaded guilty to the charge of attempting to turn over confidential scientific information to the Soviet government and received a ten-year prison sentence, which he is now serving. Prior to his apprehension, trial and conviction, Professor May was known to have had indiscreet associations with Communists and Communist front organizations. If he had been apprehended or criticized on the ground of his indiscreet associations, I think there can hardly be any doubt that a very large group of British scientists and professors would have sprung to his defense—charging that a man could not be guilty of any serious indiscretion by reason of associations.

Be that as it may. We know that Professor May visited the United States while the **Manhattan Project** was still a top secret. He visited the laboratories at the University of Chicago and had the most intimate contacts with the American scientists who were working on the Manhattan Project at the University of Chicago.

When he applied for a third admission to the United States to visit the laboratories at the University of Chicago, **General Leslie Groves** became suspicious. General Groves reasoned that all Professor May needed properly to learn he could have learned or ought to have learned on two visits. He was therefore denied permission to make a third visit. He went back to Canada and when he received the sample of the uranium, which is the essential ingredient of the atomic bomb, and attempted to pass it to Soviet agents he was caught in the act and his prison term is the result.

What was not brought out at the trial of Professor May in London was vastly more significant than anything that was brought out. As a matter of fact, very little evidence was introduced because Professor May pleaded guilty. A statement that the government was not therefore required to introduce evidence to prove his guilt. But the story will be told eventually, when the cords of politics are cut and the information which belongs to the American people, as well as to the British people, is released—there will be a story.

The uranium sample was delivered to Professor May, who in turn attempted to deliver it to the Soviet agents through the intercession of men high in

American government affairs—almost as high as it's possible to go in government. Those men have to this point been protected for political reasons. I think there's no secret about the fact that in New York City for more than a year, a special grand jury has been sitting—receiving evidence and sifting evidence on the spy ring which operated in the United States—at the same time the Canadian spy ring was in operation under the direction of the Soviet Embassy.

The number of American scientists involved, and other Americans in addition to scientists, was so shocking that when the evidence came into the hands of **Prime Minister McKenzie King** of Canada he would not entrust that evidence to any other living human being. He put it in his own pocket and boarded a plane and went straight to the White House and placed it in the hands of **President Truman**. That's all that the American people know today about the spy ring which operated in the United States. But that story will be told—perhaps after election day—or perhaps before, I do not know. It has yet to be told.

### Scientists as Security Risks

Recently, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, whose chairman is the Honorable J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, published a brief report in which the committee charged that the director of the Federal Bureau of Standards, which is in the Department of Commerce, a **Dr. Edward U. Condon**, had been guilty of indiscretion by reason of his associations.

Dr. Condon, Condon, is a scientist who worked on the **Manhattan Project** prior to his assumption of the office of Director of the Federal Bureau of Standards. Before that he was a scientist with Westinghouse. The evidence for the charge made by the Committee on Un-American Activities of The House of Representatives was documentary. The committee charged that Dr. Condon had solicited from fellow scientists membership in subversive organizations. That he certainly did do. The record is not open to dispute. Dr. Condon has not denied it. His fellow scientists have not denied it. That is all the committee charged him with.

I'm not here as advocate for the so-called Thomas committee, but this is a part of the picture that we face with respect to the questions of discretion in the field of our topmost scientific secrets.

Dr. Condon had solicited membership in the **American-Soviet Science Society**, which was established by **The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the parent body of the American-Soviet Science Society, was described as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark, as I have told you.

Shortly after Dr. Condon solicited membership from fellow-scientists in the American-Soviet Science Society, the organization was transferred to the headquarters of the **American-Russian Institute**. When the leaders of the American-Soviet Science Society, particularly **Professor Leslie C. Dunn** of Columbia University, were confronted with the evidence that their organization was subversive they replied that it had transferred from the allegedly subversive organizations to the American-Russian Institute which the Attorney General had not described as subversive. Whereupon the Attorney General a few weeks later proceeded to describe the American-Russian Institute as subversive, also.

So in going from one organization to the other, **The American-Soviet Science Society** did not go from a subversive to a non-subversive organization. That is not the only subversive organization with which **Dr. Condon** is associated. Now the House Committee on Un-American Activities did not charge that Dr. Condon was a member of a spy ring. It did say, and for many Americans at least quite properly, that a scientist engaged in the field of nuclear fission with access to the topmost military secrets of this government has no business soliciting membership in subversive organizations.

But as soon as the House Committee on Un-American Activities made that statement many prominent scientists, particularly academic scientists, as the record shows, sprang to Dr. Condon's defense. They put out the letterhead called "**Dinner to Edward U. Condon**" as a testimony of confidence by his scientific colleagues. Dated March the 23rd, 1948. The letter is signed by **Harold C. Urey**, chairman of the dinner committee.

Now, Dr. Urey is a distinguished scientist. He's the discoverer of "heavy water," and as the discoverer of heavy water was awarded a Nobel Prize. No one questions the scientific competence of Professor Urey, who, when he made his discovery was a professor at Columbia University and is now a professor at the University of Chicago.

Professor Urey's connections with Communist front organizations has been very extensive over a period of more than ten years. Professor Urey was in a top position in the **Manhattan Project**. I don't know that Professor Urey knows that he was removed from access to the innermost secrets of the atomic bomb, but if he doesn't, he is now, on this day, being informed that because of his extensive connections with Communist front organizations he was so removed. Now that again is no charge that Professor Urey was ever engaged in espionage; it is no charge that he was a member of any spy ring or that he ever divulged improperly any information which came into his hands through agents of the Soviet or any other government. The records show simply that here is a distinguished scientist entitled to every respect and has received the respect of a good part of the civilized world for his scientific achievements but whose political wisdom is nil, and whose associations are matters which do indeed constitute a risk of security. That is a phrase which is properly used by the government agencies. Not that they have betrayed security but that they have risked security.

If men like Professor Urey and Dr. Condon would only read the report of the **Royal Canadian Commission** they would discover, if they ponder the matter carefully, that they have been guilty of the indiscretions with which they have been charged.

### Universities on Sponsor List

On this letterhead of the—of the "**Dinner to Edward U. Condon**," signed by Professor Urey, are the names of more than a hundred distinguished scientists practically all of whom are academicians from the **University of Chicago**, **California Institute of Technology**, **Harvard**, **Cornell**, **Yale**, **Pennsylvania State**, **University of Michigan**, **Columbia University**, **Princeton University**, **Duke University**, **University of Nebraska**, **Catholic University in Washington**, the **Brook-Haven National Laboratory**, now our chief center of Atomic Research, **Johns Hopkins University**, **Washington University** (that's in St. Louis and not the University of Washington), the **University of Illinois**, **New York University**, the **Rockefeller Institute**, the **University of Rochester**, the **Federation of American Scientists**, the **Smithsonian Institute**, **Ohio State Uni-**

**versity**, **North Dakota State Agricultural College**, **Brooklyn College**, **Union College**, **Hamilton College**. I pause between the reading of the Universities to avoid repetition of the Universities from which two or more professors are listed in this "**Dinner to Edward U. Condon**."

### Sponsors Have Communist Front History

As I said before there are more than a hundred names of distinguished academic scientists on this particular dinner list. If Dr. Condon is wholly and utterly innocent in his own mind of any improper conduct as he may well be, I think he will not be flattered to read the Communist records of the majority of the men who gave this testimonial dinner to him and that would obviously require many hours—it would require several days, Mr. Chairman, but I have them tabulated.

The majority of these hundred professors have had thousands, in the total, of affiliations with Communist front organizations. There are a few scientists here who have never been connected, so far as any public record to which I have had access is concerned, with any single Communist front organization but that is not true of the list as a whole.

Now in view of what we know of the espionage methods of the Russian Soviet government I think the least we can say about such a list as this is that it is disquieting to know that through their front organizations the Communists of the United States, and the visiting scientists from the Soviet Union, have close personal access to such a large number of the most distinguished scientists in America is a disquieting matter and I assure you that there are government agencies that believe that that is true. It is not, however, always the simplest matter for government agencies to handle a case like that until it is too late as was shown in the case of the Canadian Spy Ring.

Before the recess I called attention to the fact that **Dr. Linus C. Pauling**, who is on the faculty of the California Institute of Technology, and who was a member of the Los Alamos Project of the Atomic Bomb, is now one of the leaders in the "Wallace for President" movement. I don't know how you explain Dr. Pauling but there is the record. His association with the **National Wallace for President Committee** is not his first association with a Communist Front organization by any means as the records of the Tenney Committee in the State of California will show and as other records in government agencies of Washington will likewise establish.

### Professor Einstein in Forty Front Organizations

I made a number of references to **Professor Albert Einstein** before the recess. Professor Einstein is a refugee in the United States from the tyranny of the Nazi but aside from his eminent scientific work in which he has engaged since he came to the United States as a refugee he has devoted 90% of his political activities to the support of an equally brutal tyranny, that of the Soviet Government.

I wish to offer for your records what I think is a fairly complete list of the forty-odd Communist organizations with which Professor Einstein has been affiliated since he came to the United States as a refugee from Hitler.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit and incorporate it into the records.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the records as Exhibit No. 8 and so marked.

(WHEREUPON the list referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 8.)

ALBERT EINSTEIN

|                                                                                                                            |                                                 |                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ambijan                                                                                                                    | Sent message to                                 | Folder, August, 1945              |
| Ambijan                                                                                                                    | Honorary President                              | Letterhead, October 8, 1946       |
| American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born                                                                  | Sponsor                                         | Daily Worker, Feb. 26, 1942, p. 4 |
| American Friends of the Chinese People                                                                                     | Signer of letter for                            | Daily Worker, July 6, 1940, p. 4  |
| American Pushkin Committee                                                                                                 | Sponsor                                         | Letterhead, undated               |
| Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade                                                                                     | Sponsor                                         | Daily Worker, March 22, 1939      |
| Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions                                                       | Initiating Sponsor                              | The Worker, Dec. 24, 1944, p. 14  |
| Jewish Black Book Committee                                                                                                | Sponsor                                         | Pamphlet, "Let the World Know"    |
| Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee                                                                                       | Sponsor                                         | Program, October, 1943            |
| Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy                                                                      | Sponsor                                         | Letterhead, February 2, 1939      |
| Motion Picture Artists Committee                                                                                           | Sponsor                                         | Folder                            |
| Musicians Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy                                                                               | Sponsor                                         | Program                           |
| National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism                                                                        | International Honorary chairman                 | Letterhead, July 3, 1934          |
| National Committee on Atomic Information                                                                                   | Consultants Panel                               | Letterhead, Nov. 15, 1946         |
| American Committee of Jewish, Writers, Artists and Scientists presentation of the Black Book Jewish Case against the Nazis | Honorary chairman and one of principal speakers | The Worker, March 17, 1946, p. 13 |
| Dinner to Edward U. Condon                                                                                                 | Sponsor                                         | Letterhead, April 6, 1948         |

EXHIBIT 8.

ALBERT EINSTEIN -- continued

|                                                        |                                                                    |                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee                   | Sponsor                                                            | Folder, Survey of the Work of the JAFRC, March 11, 1942-June, 1944 |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship         | Sponsor                                                            | Letterhead, May 4, 1948                                            |
| Nation Associates                                      | Sponsor                                                            | Program, Oct. 13, 1947                                             |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship         | Sponsor                                                            | Letterhead, Jan. 7, 1948, reverse side                             |
| National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council        | Member                                                             | Policy and Program 1948                                            |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship         | Sponsor                                                            | Soviet Russia Today, March, 1947, p. 2                             |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship         | Sponsor                                                            | Folder                                                             |
| National Citizens Political Action Committee           | Vice-Chairman, Dinner Committee                                    | Folder                                                             |
| National Conference on the German Problem              | Sponsor                                                            | Official release, March 6, 1947                                    |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties       | Signer of letter for                                               | Press release, January, 1943                                       |
| National Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation | Honorary national chairman                                         | Leaflet                                                            |
| Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee             | Member                                                             | New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40                               |
| Soviet Russia Today                                    | Sponsor of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Red Army | Program, Feb. 22, 1942                                             |
| Soviet Russia Today                                    | Contributor                                                        | Soviet Russia Today, June, 1942, p. 6                              |
| Spanish Refugee Appeal                                 | Sponsor                                                            | Folder                                                             |
| United States-Soviet Friendship Congress               | Sponsor                                                            | Daily Worker, Sept. 29, 1943, p. 5                                 |

EXHIBIT 8--Continued.

DR. MATTHEWS: And may I point out that according to the records it was **Professor Einstein** who first completely conceived the possibility of the atomic bomb and sent a direct report to **President Roosevelt** suggesting setting aside—setting aside of some two billion dollars in an attempt to build an atomic bomb. That is some indication of the importance of Professor Einstein in this whole field of nuclear fission, the atomic bomb and our topmost military secrets.

For a number of years since the close of the World War as well as before few visiting scientists from Soviet Russia have come to the United States without making one of their first stops Princeton, New Jersey, where they have conferred with Professor Einstein. I know it's possible for Professor Einstein to confer with the Soviet scientists and not disclose important secrets, I said possible, I'm not sure that any man should be entrusted with a responsibility for deciding whether or not he should disclose such secrets or whether or not he would know when he had or had not disclosed.

Here, again, we are confronted, I think, with this minimum charge against Professor Einstein, but by his prolonged association with the Communist movement in the United States he has abused the land which honors him so greatly for his scientific achievements and has granted him citizenship.

### Fellow Travelers and the Atomic Bomb

The fellow-travelers have not been slow since the very day that the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima to set up organizations dealing with the atomic bomb and nuclear fission.

There are at least a dozen front organizations or tabulary organizations if you choose to call them that which have been set up in the past three years which deal exclusively with this question of the atomic bomb.

One of the first to enter the field was the **Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions**.

### Ickes Denounces Front Organization

This organization once had as its director the **Honorable Harold L. Ickes**. Now, don't misjudge me, I'm going to give Mr. Ickes a break.

Mr. Ickes after a year and a half as director of this organization discovered it was a Communist organization and wrote a letter denouncing it in terms which he alone is capable of denouncing it. I have a copy of Mr. Ickes' letter here denouncing this outfit and one with which he is no longer willing to associate.

I'll read the last paragraph of his letter which has not hitherto been made public, Mr. Chairman.

"In view of all of the circumstances I have no other course except to resign and that I am doing with this letter. You will understand that my resignation is to take effect immediately and that it terminates not only our relationship, which has been pleasant so far as some of you are concerned, but that it will be understood that I am to be relieved of any obligation to make any of the speeches that I set out to undertake during September and October.

Aside from all these considerations, I do not care to have any part or parcel with an organization from which one is not immune from dastardly and underhand attacks. I do not play that game myself and I do not care to be associated with those who do. Of course, I know full well that you had

nothing to do with this tip, but someone in your organization was responsible and I do not care to have any connection with an organization that has such irresponsible and malicious people on its staff . . . " and so on.

This letter is addressed to the Secretary, Miss Dörner, if you would like to have that for your records.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to have this, and submit this to the Committee with the request that they consider the advisability of entering it into the record as an exhibit. I don't know the full contents of it. If it will be agreeable to—

THE WITNESS: The whole letter, I didn't want to take the time to read it, charges the Communist control of the organization; and not only the Communist control but the underhand personal attacks on Mr. Ickes, when it was circulating among the staff members, of the organization.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the record as **Exhibit No. 9**, and so identified.

(WHEREUPON the letter from **Harold L. Ickes**, dated August 8, 1946, was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 9**.)

DR. MATTHEWS: Now this organization from which Mr. Ickes resigned, was one of the first to stage a Madison Square Garden meeting on the atomic bomb. The chairman of the Madison Square Garden meeting on the atomic bomb was **Dr. Harlow Shapley**. I think I've said enough about him.

The—one of the main speakers was Professor **Harold C. Urey**, whom we have already discussed. Brought in from England, by air, according to the program, was Professor **Julian Huxley**. I'm not going to go into the record of Julian Huxley at any length, because he's a Britisher and I don't want to take the time; but Professor Julian Huxley is from every standpoint except the possible standpoint of holding a card in the Party, a Communist. Precisely why he is the man brought here for this particular meeting, perhaps is explained in Mr. Ickes' resignation from the organization.

Now Senator **Charles W. Tobey** was a speaker on the occasion, and actor **Frederick March** was also a speaker. That you may have as an exhibit.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to admit this into the record as an exhibit and incorporate it in the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 10**.

(WHEREUPON the poster on the atomic bomb meeting at Madison Square Garden was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 10**.)

# CRISIS MEETING

## ATOM BOMB - For War or Peace?

### TUES., DEC. 4 at 8 p. m.

#### PROGRAM

**DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY**, Chairman

**JULIAN HUXLEY, F.R.S.** (Flying from England)

**SENATOR CHARLES W. TOBEY**

**R. J. THOMAS**

**COL. EVANS CARLSON, U.S.M.C.**  
(Of Carlson's Raiders)

**DR. HAROLD C. UREY**

**HELEN KELLER**

**DANNY KAYE • JO DAVIDSON • FREDRIC MARCH**

also

special dramatic presentation of

Norman Corwin's "Set Your Clock At U-235"

## MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

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Tickets on Sale at:

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and Theatrical Ticket Brokers

auspices of the

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE of the  
ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

PLEASE POST

EXHIBIT 10.

DR. MATTHEWS: The vice-chairman of the organization denounced by Mr. Ickes as a Communist Front, and so found by many official agencies of the Government, was **Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer**.

Now here again, Mr. Chairman, I am not accusing Dr. Oppenheimer of espionage; so far as I know, he may be as free from any desire to commit espionage as any living American; but nevertheless, here is the top American scientist in the field of nuclear fission, the absolute top, the man who was director of the most honorable project which produced the bomb, now in Princeton University, the Director of the **Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University**, and he is a vice-chairman of the **Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions**; and right under his name, as a co-vice-chairman is the name of **Paul Robeson**.

Here again is indiscretion of association such as ought to be disquieting; the people who understand the methods of espionage, the people who understand how Russian Soviet agents have more than once used the innocent and gullible as well as the knowing and guilty in their purposes.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to introduce this into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted into the record as **Exhibit No. 11**.

(WHEREUPON the pamphlet referred to was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 11**.)

DR. MATTHEWS: On the Board of Directors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, were two men who were engaged in the work of producing the atomic bomb. They were **Professors Thorfin, Thorfin, R. Hogness, Hogness; and Professor Linus Pauling**, so that together with Professor Oppenheimer, three of our topmost scientists were officers in a Communist front organization of record.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be admitted as evidence into the record and incorporated into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 12**.

(WHEREUPON the exhibit referred to was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 12**, and made a part hereof.)



# INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS, INC.

HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. CIRCLE 8-5412

October 8, 1945

JO DAVENSON  
Chairman  
HAROLD L. JONES  
Executive Chairman  
FREDERIC MARCHE  
President  
HERMAN SHUMLIN  
Secretary  
HANNAH DORNER  
Executive Director

Dear Member:

ARE YOU SATISFIED with the functioning of the Literature Division during the past year? WITH ITS ACTIVITIES? ITS PROGRAM? The extent of your own PARTICIPATION?

Express your approval or disapproval.  
Register criticisms and suggestions.  
Insure your personal participation.  
Assume the privileges and duties of membership.

at the

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING  
of the Literature Division  
Wednesday, October 16 (8:00 p.m.)  
Henry Hudson Hotel (383 West 57 Street)

CHAIRMAN: Richard Lauterbach

AGENDA: 1. Report of work of last year by James O. Brown  
2. Projected program of 1946-1947 by Howard Fast  
3. Election of new officers and new Executive Board

ONLY PAID UP MEMBERS WILL BE ENTITLED TO A BALLOT. PAY UP YOUR MEMBERSHIP DUES AT THE MEETING AND BRING ALONG PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS TO ENROLL AND VOTE.

It is time for the Literature Division to shed its swaddling clothes and emerge as a mature and effective unit of the ICCASP. The challenge of the present political situation demands it - the critical November elections require our all-out effort.

Let's roll up our sleeves - together - October 16! Reserve the date!

Sincerely yours,

*Howard Fast*

hfrv  
ucps - 16/142

Howard Fast, Chairman  
Literature Division - ICCASP

EXHIBIT 11.

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE  
ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS, INC.  
HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. CIRCLE 8-5412

## VICE CHAIRMEN

Joseph E. Davies, *Honorary*  
Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson  
Norman Corwin  
Reuben G. Gustavson  
Fiorello H. LaGuardia  
J. Robert Oppenheimer  
Paul Robeson  
Harlow Shapley  
Frank Sinatra

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

|                          |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
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| Leonard Bernstein        | Walter Huston           |
| Walter Bernstein         | Crockett Johnson        |
| Henry Billings           | Gene Kelly              |
| Charles Boyer            | Isaac M. Kolthoff       |
| Henrietta Buckmaster     | Richard Lauterbach      |
| Eddie Cantor             | Eugene List             |
| Morris Llewellyn Cooke   | Peter Lyon              |
| Samuel A. Corson         | John T. McManis         |
| John Cromwell            | Florence Eldridge March |
| Bosley Crowther          | Dorothy Maynor          |
| Duke Ellington           | Stanley Moss            |
| Howard Fast              | Ernest Pascal           |
| Jose Ferrer              | Robert Patterson        |
| Joan Fontaine            | Linus Pauling           |
| Allan R. Freeman         | Virginia Payne          |
| Dr. Channing Frothingham | Dr. John P. Peters      |
| Dr. Rudolph Ganz         | Walter Rautenstrauch    |
| Ben Grauer               | Quentin Reynolds        |
| Marion Hargrove          | Hazel Scott             |
| Louis Harris             | A. C. Spector           |
| Moss Hart                | Carl Vafi Doren         |
| Lillian Hellman          | Orson Welles            |
| John Hersey              | Carl Ziegler            |
| Melville J. Herskovits   |                         |

## REGIONAL CHAPTERS

|                   |                                                     |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| California:       | 1515 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood 28, Calif. |
| Colorado:         | 12 East 20th Avenue, Denver, Colo.                  |
| Connecticut:      | 176 York Street, New Haven 16, Conn.                |
| Illinois:         | 112 East Chestnut Street, Chicago 11, Ill.          |
| Maryland:         | 16 E. Lexington Street, Baltimore 2, Md.            |
| Massachusetts:    | Room 310, 60 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.     |
| Michigan:         | 327 South Division Street, Ann Arbor, Mich.         |
| Minnesota:        | 1200 Fourth Street, S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.       |
| New Hampshire:    | P. O. Box 661, Hanover, New Hampshire               |
| Ohio:             | 1007 Amherst Place, Dayton 6, Ohio                  |
| Pennsylvania:     | 1831 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.             |
| Rhode Island:     | 134 Congdon Street, Providence, R. I.               |
| Washington:       | 4719 University Way, Seattle 5, Wash.               |
| Washington, D.C.: | 1018 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Wash., D.C.              |

EXHIBIT 12.



### Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists

DR. MATTHEWS: One of the organizations set up dealing exclusively with the field of atomic energy was known as the **Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists**, with headquarters in Princeton, New Jersey.

I have here a letter signed by **Albert Einstein**, dated March the 20th, 1947. The trustees of this Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists included **Albert Einstein**, **Harold C. Urey** as Vice-Chairman, **Hans A. Bethe**, Bethe of Cornell University, **Philip M. Morse**, Morse, also of Cornell University, **T. R. Hogness**, **Linus Pauling**, **Leo Szilard**, Szilard, of the University of Chicago, and **V. F. Weisskopf**, Weisskopf, eight men prominent in the field of nuclear fission in the production of the atomic bomb.

I wish to read one sentence from this letter in which these men ask for a million dollars to tell the world the story of atomic energy. Here is the sentence: "**This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the outmoded concept of narrow nationalism.**"

Now I don't know precisely what these professors mean by "narrow nationalism"; I don't know anything but nationalism, whether it is broad or narrow, or middle-of-the-road, or what it is; but I think so far as most Americans are concerned, it is not an outmoded conception.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to ask that this be incorporated and entered into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 13.

(WHEREUPON the letter referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 13.)

### EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees  
ALBERT EINSTEIN  
Chairman  
HAROLD C. UREY  
Vice-Chairman  
HANS A. BETHE  
T. R. HOGNESS  
PHILIP M. MORSE  
LINUS PAULING  
LEO SZILARD  
V. F. WEISSKOPF

March 20, 1947

Dear Friend:

I write to you for help at the suggestion of a friend.

Through the release of atomic energy, our generation has brought into the world the most revolutionary force since prehistoric man's discovery of fire. This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the outmoded concept of narrow nationalism. For there is no secret and there is no defense; there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding and insistence of the peoples of the world.

We scientists recognize our inescapable responsibility to carry to our fellow citizens an understanding of the simple facts of atomic energy and its implications for society. In this lies our only security and our only hope - we believe that an informed citizenry will act for life and not for death.

We need \$1,000,000 for this great educational task. Sustained by faith in man's ability to control his destiny through the exercise of reason, we have pledged all our strength and our knowledge to this work. I do not hesitate to call upon you to help.

Faithfully yours,

*Albert Einstein*

AB/ef

EXHIBIT 13.

### National Committee on Atomic Information

DR. MATTHEWS: One of the most active of the organizations in the field of atomic information is known as the **National Committee on Atomic Information**, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. It claimed as scientific consultants, **Edward U. Condon, Albert Einstein, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Leo Szilard, and Harold C. Urey**; and then the committee itself was composed of such persons as **Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune**, that's McLeod Bethune. Mrs. Bethune is an elderly Negro woman, President of **Bethune-Cookman College in Florida**, a college for destitute Negro girls—a woman who has either reached her eighties already, or is very close thereto, and who is known nationally and has been so known nationally for a decade, as one of the leading fellow-travelers, Communist fellow-travelers, in the United States; and to make that clear, Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer the Communist record of some sixty affiliations of Mrs. Bethune, for your files.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I move that that be incorporated into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be considered as **Exhibit No. 14**.

(WHEREUPON the Communist record of Mrs. Bethune, referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 14.)

DR. MATTHEWS: Here again, one, I think, probably pauses to pay tribute to the work Mrs. Bethune has done in the relief of destitute Negro girls of the South. She has been honored for that work for a half a century; but in the field of politics she has been pretty consistently a fellow-traveler of the Communists. She is a social worker, she has never made any pretense in her life to any scientific achievement, or to any scientific interest, so far as the record shows; nor why Doctors Condon, Einstein, Oppenheimer, Urey, has allowed her to serve on a National Committee on Atomic Information, with persons like that constituting the committee, I do not know; but I'm not through yet.

Here is **Robert K. Lamb**, Lamb. Professor Lamb has devoted a great deal of his time to serving Congressional committees, both of the House and of the United States Senate during the past ten years. Now when his Communist record finally caught up with him, thanks primarily to the reorganization work in the Senate by former Senator Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., Mr. Lamb left the work of Congress and became research director for the **United Steelworkers of America**. He hadn't been there long till his Communist record caught up with him, and he left that. I don't know where he is now.

There is only one alleged scientist on this National Committee on Atomic Information, and that is **John A. Simpson, Federation of Atomic Scientists**; as I have been unable to place Mr. Simpson, so that I do not know whether he has a scientific record or not.

MR. HOUSTON: May this be admitted as an exhibit into the record, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 15**.

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Committee on Atomic Information, referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 15.)

Chairman  
RALPH McDONALD  
National Education Association

Vice-Chairman  
HELEN DWIGHT REED  
Amer. Assoc. of Univ. Women

Secretary  
MRS. JOY FAULK  
United Council of Church Women

Treasurer  
REV. E. A. CONWAY, S. J.  
Catholic Assoc. for International Peace

## National Committee on ATOMIC INFORMATION

1749 L STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

National 5280

### Scientific Consultants' Panel

EDWARD U. CONDON  
ALBERT EINSTEIN  
J. R. OPPENHEIMER  
H. C. UREY  
LEO SZILARD  
HAROLD C. UREY  
EUGENE WIGNER

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Federal Council of Churches  
of Christ in America  
FREDERICK P. HARRIS  
Independent Citizens' Committee  
of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions  
CARLOS JACOBINI  
National Farmers' Union  
ROBERT K. LAMB  
United Steelworkers of America, CIO  
MRS. OLGA MARSHALL  
National Council of Jewish Women  
MRS. ALLEN MITCHELL  
National League of Women Voters  
JOHN A. SIMPSON  
American Federation of Labor  
JOHN A. SIMPSON  
Federation of Atomic Scientists

November 15, 1946

Dear Librarians:

With the cooperation of the Government Information Service, we are making available to you a sample copy of our monthly bulletin, "Atomic Information".

We want to provide this information regularly for those who use the facilities of your library. However, it costs us \$2.00 per year for each subscription and we hope you will feel able to cover the cost of the publication, if you wish to continue to receive it. If you are among the many libraries already subscribing, we hope you have found our material both interesting and helpful.

The work of this organization is entirely dependent upon contributions from those who believe in the vital importance of accurate and up-to-date information on the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society.

Sincerely yours,

A. E. Casgrain  
A. E. Casgrain  
Acting Director

"A clearing house established by sixty national organizations to provide a medium through which they can cooperate with the atomic scientists and their colleagues for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society."

EXHIBIT 15.

### Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy

DR. MATTHEWS: This National Committee on Atomic Information held an Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy, on July the 15th and 16th, in the Department of Interior Auditorium in Washington, D. C. Here is a program of that institute, dated July the 8th, 1946. This is the organization, remember, that is composed of persons like Mrs. Mary McLeod, Robert T. Lamb, others who have like Communist records.

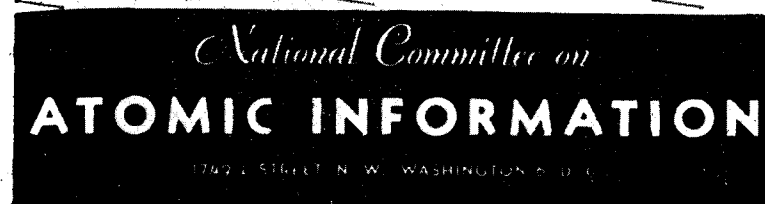
The speakers at this Institute on War Control of Atomic Energy were Secretary of Commerce Wallace, Harlow Shapley, to whom we have already made reference, Carroll Wilson, whose name probably means something to most of you. (Carroll Wilson is the director of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States.) William Higinbotham, Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, a Communist front organization, and Frederic Joliot-Curie. That's Joliot—Curie.

### Professor Joliot Curie

Professor Joliot-Curie is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Committee of France, publicly so. He is so the French member of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations. He is in the United States in recent years about as much as he has been in France. I have not an exact tabulation on that but that is approximately correct. And as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France he has written extensively on the subject of Atomic Energy and his determination to give the secret as fast as he gets hold of any of it to the entire world, meaning primarily the Soviet Union—by definition as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that must be his view; that is his view. And yet he appears as a speaker of this front organization with the men I have mentioned and during his periods of stay in the United States he moves freely from coast to coast associating with our Atomic scientists.

MR. HOUSTON: I'd like to admit this into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 16.



"A clearing house established by sixty national organizations to provide a medium through which they can cooperate with the atomic scientists and their colleagues for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society."

Latest News . . .

July 8, 1946

INSTITUTE ON WORLD CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

July 15 and 16, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

10 A.M., Monday, July 15 - Topic: "Posing the Problem of World Control"

Chairman: Dr. Ralph McDonald, Chairman of the NCAT

Speakers: Secretary of Commerce Wallace  
Dr. Philip Morrison, Atomic Scientist on Los Alamos project  
Dr. Norman Dawes, Professor of Social Studies  
Dr. Waldemar Nielsen, Psychologist and Public Opinion Analyst

2 P.M., Monday, July 15 - Topic: "Proposals for World Control"

Chairman: Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director of the Harvard Observatory

Speakers: Carroll Wilson, Secretary to the Lilienthal Board  
John Hancock, Consultant to the Baruch Committee  
Thomas Finletter, International Lawyer  
Clark Eichelberger, Director of American Association for United Nations

7:30 P.M., Monday, July 15 - Banquet\* - Topic: "As Others See Us"

Speakers: Frederic Joliot-Curie, French Scientist } Consultants to United  
Dr. Marcus Oliphant, Australian Scientist } Nations Atomic Energy  
Dr. Hsich-Ren Wei, Chinese Scientist } Commission

10 A.M., Tuesday, July 16 - Topic: "What Policy for the U.S.?"

Chairman: Senator Brian McMahon, Chairman Senate Committee on Atomic Energy

Speakers: William Higinbotham, Chairman Federation of American Scientists  
Major George Fielding Eliot  
Senator Charles Tobey

2 P.M., Tuesday, July 16 - Workshop Session "The People's Role"

Speakers: Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations expert. Reports from members.

\* Banquet at "Hotel 2400", 2400 16th St., N.W. Tickets \$3.50. Make checks payable to National Committee on Atomic Information, 1749 L St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

### EXHIBIT 16.

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, I have a few score or more of these exhibits but cumulatively they tell the same story, mainly that we have a disquieting situation in that so many of our most prominent scientists, particularly those in the academic world, are so closely associated in one way or another with the Communist front.

### Objectives of Communist Front Organizations

The Communist Front movement has been set up for a variety of purposes. One of them is a halfway station to membership in the Communist Party. Another is to raise money for the Communist Party.

Another is to provide jobs for Party members.

And still another is to gain contacts with non-Communists so as to carry on the work of espionage. Now that has been established by the record long ago that one of the purposes of the front organization is precisely that.

I have had the unpleasant experience of examining a man convicted of espionage, American citizens convicted of espionage in foreign countries. Now when they have served their terms they have returned to the United States and have been willing to tell the process by which they became spies for the Russian Government and in every case in which I have examined the witness the process began with a Communist front organization and a person who was a simple fellow-traveler in what most Americans, I am afraid, still consider a rather innocent role to play.

I should like to proceed with the matters pertaining to the Grand Jury at the morning session if that is agreeable to the committee.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one thing in qualifying you, Doctor, I failed to bring out you have visited Russia, have you not, in your travels?

DR. MATTHEWS: I have visited Russia five different times.

MR. HOUSTON: Five different times you have been to Russia and that was during the period of your close work with the front organizations.

DR. MATTHEWS: Those—Those years were from 1928 until 1932.

MR. HOUSTON: And much of the information that you have been testifying to is not only the result of your research work but is personal knowledge that you have acquired?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct, though I have not made any effort to distinguish which is which.

I may say for your information that I was the first national chairman of the largest Communist front organization ever set up in this country, "The American League Against War and Fascism."

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we adjourn until tomorrow morning or time convenient to the committee or members of the staff, I'd say 9:30, and I would like the record to show at this time that Mrs. Bernice Steele is and has been in the room for some period of time even though she did not respond to the subpoena this morning she is here now, and has responded to the subpoena, and I want the records to show it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that Mrs. Bernice Steele is in attendance.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that just leaves us one that isn't out.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I believe that is correct.

Witnesses under subpoena unless having made other arrangements with the committee will remain in attendance until called in order.

We will now be in recess until 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning.

(Recess)

TUESDAY, JULY 20, 1948

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is now in session.

DR. JAMES B. MATTHEWS, resumed the stand for further examination, and testified as follows:

### Win the Peace Conference

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Matthews will resume the stand, Mr. Chairman.

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, yesterday I referred briefly in passing, to the **Federation of Atomic Scientists** which was one of the several Communist Front organizations set up, shortly after the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The leaders of the Federation of Atomic Scientists were two professors, the one named **Melber Phillips**, Melber Phillips, and the other **W. A. Higinbotham**, Higinbotham.

Professors Phillips and Higinbotham were also among the leaders of the **Win the Peace Conference** which was set up by the Communist Party in the spring of 1946, at a gathering in Washington, D. C. on April the 5th, 6th and 7th; and steadily this Communist front organization known as the Win the Peace Conference held its sessions in Federal Government buildings, in the Department of the Interior.

The actual launching of the Win the Peace Conference was done in the rooms of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, by the Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, the **Honorable Adolph Sabath** of Illinois.

To the best of my knowledge, that is the only time in American history that an out-and-out Communist Front organization so designated by a number of official investigations and government agencies, including the Attorney General of the United States, was launched in the Congress of the United States by a high officer of the Congress of the United States, a man whose position certainly places him next to that of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the majority and minority leaders of the House; but there is the record. As I say, the Attorney General of the United States has himself designated this Win the Peace Conference as a subversive organization. It was publicly launched by a Congressman, the Honorable Adolph Sabath of Illinois.

### Federation of Atomic Scientists

Two of the leaders of this Win the Peace Conference were these leaders of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, Professors Phillips and Melber— ah, Phillips and Higinbotham.

On March the 5th, 1947, the Federation of Atomic Scientists petitioned **President Truman** to demand that the War Department send back to Germany as soon as possible, all German scientists brought to this country since the close of the World War. It is a matter of public record that the War Department has availed itself of the scientific services of many German nationals since the close of the war. Other countries have done likewise. Large numbers of German scientists, regardless of their ideological attachments to Hitler, or otherwise, have been taken to Russia.

The Federation of Atomic Scientists, and the other Front organizations in the United States, have not made any protest against the transportation of

German scientists to Russia; but many of them, including the **Federation of Atomic Scientists**, have protested against the utilization of the scientific work of these German scientists in the United States.

At the beginning of the history of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, its Public Relations Director was one **Michael Amrine**, Amrine. There was no excuse for Mr. Amrine's not knowing that the Federation of Atomic Scientists was a Communist Front organization. Now whether he knew it or not I am not in a position to state. I wish only to have the fact recorded that he was the Public Relations Director of this rather important Communist Front organization.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Amrine was appointed Public Relations Director of the **Brookhaven Laboratory**, the center of the development of atomic energy of the United States Government at the present time. That is an old story. The way in which men pass from high positions in Communist Front organizations into still higher positions in the Federal Government and vice versa.

### Civilian vs. Military Control of Atomic Energy

One of the most intensive campaigns ever put on by the Communists and the Communist Front organizations in the United States, throughout the entire history of Communism in this country, was the campaign to take the control of atomic energy out of the hands of the military and place it in the hands of a civilian commission. I do not know to what extent **Senator Bryan McMahon**, the author of the bill which effected that transfer was or is conscious of the fact that his bill received vastly more support from Communists than from any other section or segment of the American people. Practically every Communist Front organization devoted months and hundreds of thousands of dollars to discredit the military, which had just played a rather important role in the winning of the world war, for the express purpose of taking the control of Atomic energy from the military and placing it in the hands of civilians. That campaign was successful and the so-called **Lilienthal Commission** was set up as a result of that move supported far more largely I repeat, by the Communists and Communist Front organizations than by any other groups in the American population.

We get another view of the **Federation of American Scientists** in the story which appeared in the newspaper **P. M.** in March, 1946. The **P. M.** reported that the members of the Federation of Atomic Scientists under the leadership of **Professor W. A. Higinbotham** was solidly behind this endeavor to discredit the military.

### Professors Charge Spy Scare

They also charged that investigations of Communism and particularly investigations into the American spy ring, which attempted to steal the secrets of the atomic bomb, were nothing but a spy scare designed to curtail and to eventually to destroy the civil liberties of the American people.

Whenever you see charges made like that you know immediately if you are a student of these matters that you are reading a Communist charge.

The Communist controlled units of the **American Newspaper Guild**, particularly those in Los Angeles and New York City, have joined in this campaign to smear the military and to demand that the control of atomic energy be placed in the hands of civilians. In March, 1946, **Dr. Richard Noyas**, one of the atomic bomb scientists, addressed the meeting of the **Los Angeles News**

**paper Guild** and expounded the Communist Party line with reference to this matter.

According to the New York Times of July 16, 1947, the **Federation of Atomic Scientists** was again in the news.

There the organization used the prestige and name of **Professor Albert Einstein** as Communist Front organizations have done so often in the past and since. In this particular news item the Federation of Atomic Scientists was often endeavoring to propagate the idea that the United Nations should take complete control of atomic energy and distribute the secrets thereof to the nations of the world. When Communist Front organizations make pronouncements of that kind they have one particular country in mind, namely the Soviet Union which they have, from the beginning of Communism, recognized as the fatherland of all Communists regardless of their citizenship.

### U. S. Scientists Visit Russia. Condon Stopped

Immediately after V. J. Day in August, 1945, the Soviet government invited leading scientists, including atomic scientists, to fly to Russia. A number of the most important of such American scientists accepted the invitation and went to Russia. However, one of the members of that delegation who had been invited to go to Russia arrived at LaGuardia Field aboard his plane.

The Army stepped in and saw to it that **Dr. Edward Condon** did not board that plane.

The Army had reasons as good, if not better, than those which the so-called Thomas committee had published in recent months or it would never have taken such drastic action as to remove an American scientist from a plane when he was bound for Russia. Certainly the Army considered that there was some element of the risk of security in the proposed flight of Dr. Condon to the Soviet Union.

Among the scientists who actually went to Russia on that occasion was **Dr. Irving Langmuir**, the famous—the scientist of the laboratories of the General Electric Company. Langmuir. Also in the delegation was **Professor Harlow Shapley** of Harvard University, to whom I made extended reference, yesterday.

When these scientists returned from the Soviet Union their reports were featured in the **Daily Worker** more than in any other of the papers of this country. Doctor Langmuir stated as follows: "In contrast with the profit motive prevailing in the United States, the Soviet government has devised stronger incentives for a continuous improvement in the standard of living over a long period of years." Now, that again is a disquieting fact. I do not accuse Dr. Langmuir of espionage or of any tendencies toward disloyalty, but it is a disquieting fact that so noted a scientist, also a recipient of a Nobel prize, can look upon the political scene in the Soviet Union and contrast the United States, unfavorably with the Soviet Union.

Another of the members of the delegation to the Soviet Union was **Doctor Arpad—Arpad—Nadai—Nadai**, of the Westinghouse laboratory. Still another member of the delegation was **Professor Arthur Upham Pope**. The middle name is Upham, who is the director of the Iranian Institute.

In March of 1947, **Professor Linus Pauling** of the California Institute of Technology addressed a meeting of **The Progressive Citizens of America**, of which he was a leader on the subject of atomic energy. I pointed out yesterday that Professor Pauling was a member of the **Los Alamos project** which produced the atomic bomb. Professor Pauling's pro-communist activities are a matter of public record.

In April, 1947, **Professor Harlow Shapley** called together the top scientists of the United States to map a program for the control of atomic energy. That meeting was held under the auspices of the **Progressive Citizens of America**, the body which nominated **Henry Wallace** for the Presidency of the United States, and which has now become somewhat dormant in favor of the **National "Wallace for President" Committee**.

### Communist Espionage Unit Formed in Washington

In the year 1934, an espionage unit of the Communist Party was formed in the Federal Government in Washington. The formation of that unit of the Communist Party has been the major subject of investigation by the Federal Grand Jury, which has been sitting in New York City for the past year. The leader of that Communist Party Unit in the Federal Government was one **Harold Ware**—Ware.

**Harold Ware** was a son of **Ella Reid Bloor**, popularly known in Communist circles as "**Mother Bloor**." The details of the formation of that Communist Party Unit are known to the grand jury, as they have been known for some time to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the Federal Government.

Most of the members of that Communist Party Unit in the Federal Government were sponsored for their Federal positions by some of the professors who went to Washington in 1933. Notably, **Professor Rexford Guy Tugwell**, then of Columbia University and now of the University of Chicago, and a prominent national leader in the "Wallace for President" movement.

One of the members of that Communist Party unit in the Federal Government was **Lee Pressman**. **Lee Pressman**, eventually, became General Counsel of the C. I. O., a position which he occupied until quite recently, when anti-Communist stirrings began to make a change in the policies of the national headquarters of the C. I. O., as well as in some of the international unions of the C. I. O.

**Pressman** is also a prominent national leader in the "Wallace for President" movement at the present time.

Another of the secret Communist Party members working in this espionage ring in the Federal Government was **John Apt**, Apt. **John Apt** is likewise now a national leader of the Wallace for President Committee. **Pressman** and **Apt** were in the Department of Agriculture at the time they joined this espionage ring.

There were many Federal employees eventually recruited into this unit of the Communist Party, whose main objective was to obtain confidential information from Government files to which they had access, for the purpose of transmitting them to the Soviet Government.

I understand that a witness who will appear on the stand tomorrow will go further into details of the organization of this espionage ring.

The conspiratorial character of the Communist Party is well illustrated by the fact that many of the prominent members of the Party, such as those in the academic world, have taken aliases. They do not operate in the Communist Party under their own names.

### Professors Use Aliases

I wish to give you a few examples of this. Some years ago a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, by the name of **Sol Auerbach**, **Auerbach**, a Communist Party member, used the alias **James S. Allen**, **Allen**.

**Auerbach** was eventually deprived of his position in the University, and went into the Communist movement as a full-time occupation, where he still works under the name of **James S. Allen**. You will find his articles regularly in the "New World," published in Seattle, in the "**People's Daily World**," published in San Francisco, and the "**Daily Worker**," published in New York, and in all other publications of the Communist Party. A college professor.

**Morris U. Schappes**, **Schappes**, was a professor at the City College of New York. As the result of the investigations of a State Legislative Committee in New York, Professor **Schappes** was ousted from City College for being a Communist Party member; inasmuch as he was proven to have committed perjury while on the witness stand, he served a prison term for perjury.

While he was operating in the Communist Party as a professor at the City College of New York, he used the name **Alan Horton**, **Alan Horton**, and as **Alan Horton** he was the head of the Communist Party's commission on education.

An old-timer in the Communist Party, he taught in the New York schools under his real name, **Dale Zysman**, **Zysman**; but in his Communist Party work he used the alias of **Jack Hardy**. When the war broke out, **Dale Zysman**, alias **Jack Hardy**, even though he had been removed from the New York public system—school system, for being a member of the Communist Party, obtained a position of the highest importance in the United States Navy. However, his record eventually caught up with him there, and he was removed from his position in the Navy.

At Columbia University today, there is a professor, an instructor in sociology, his name is **Bernhard J. Stern**, **Bernhard**, who has operated as a Communist for many years under the name of **Bennett Stevens**. He has written books under the name of **Bennett Stevens**, and has taught in the Communist Party's workers schools under that name.

Another professor at the City College of New York was **Herbert Morais**, **Morais**; when he was on the faculty of City College, he used the Communist Party alias **Herbert Enmale**, **Enmale**. It was later explained before the Legislative Committee of the State of New York, that he compounded his alias **Enmale** by taking the first syllables of the names of **Engels**, **Marx**, and **Lenin**.

A professor at Brooklyn College by the name of **Howard Selsam**, **Selsam**, used the Communist Party alias, **Hill**, while he filled his faculty position as well as working for the Communist Party. **Selsam** is now the Director of the Communist Party's training school in New York City, the **Jefferson School of Social Science**.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on indefinitely giving names of outstanding educators, in the sense that these men are outstanding, who have been members of the Communist Party and have used aliases to conceal their identity as far as possible. This is one of the small indications of the conspiratorial character of the Communist Party.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce a list of the Communist Front organizations which have been operating more or less currently in the United States. It is a matter of record that since the inception of the Communist Party several thousand national and local front organizations have been set up by the Communists.

At any given time or during the history of the Communist Party there have been some two hundred fifty to three hundred such organizations operated. The Department of Justice has begun to list these organizations

piecemeal. Already two such lists have appeared and I presume that those two lists will go into the records of this Committee for the enlightenment of those in this state and elsewhere who use the records of your hearings.

### Communist Schools

On this list which I wish to submit to you you will find the names of schools, as well as Communist Front organizations, because it has become a practice of the Communist to attempt to conceal the Communist Party character of the school or particularly by taking the name of some great American patriot. In New York City the present Communist Party school is the **Jefferson School of Social Science**. In Boston it is the **Samuel Adams School for Social Study**. In Chicago it is the **Abraham Lincoln School**, and so on. I don't know why they haven't taken the name of some patriot in Seattle. They have contented themselves with the simple designation at the present time of the **Pacific Northwest Labor School**, I believe.

But because they have attempted to conceal the Communist control I have included the names of those schools in this list.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I herewith submit this as an exhibit and ask that be given a number and incorporated in the record in full.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Committee's **Exhibit No. 17** and so designated.

### COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Abraham Lincoln School  
 Action Conference on Indonesia  
 All-Arts Action Meeting  
 Ambijan  
 American Association of Scientific Workers  
 American Business Congress  
 American Committee for Armenian Rights  
 American Committee for Indonesian Independence  
 American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists  
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
 American Committee for Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan  
 American Committee for Spanish Freedom  
 American Committee for Yugoslav Relief  
 American Council for a Democratic Greece  
 American Crusade to End Lynching  
 American Friends of India  
 American Institute of Pacific Relations  
 American Investors Union  
 American Jewish Labor Council  
 American People's Fund  
 American Polish Labor Council  
 American Relief for Greek Democracy  
 American Review of Soviet Medicine  
 American Russian Institute  
 American Slav Congress  
 American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy  
 American Society for Russian Relations  
 American-Soviet Medical Society  
 American-Soviet Music Society  
 American-Soviet Science Society  
 American University Women's League  
 American Youth for Democracy  
 Association Democratique Haitienne  
 Association of Young Writers and Artists  
 Austro-American Tribune  
 Authors League of America  
 American Youth for a Free World  
 Americas, The  
 Artists League of America  
 Associated Blind  
 Association of the Greek Community  
 Association of Scientists for Atomic Education  
  
 Book Find Club  
 Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China  
 Brooklyn Women's Conference for Security and Peace  
  
 California Labor School  
 Camp Beacon  
 Camp Unity  
 Camp Wo-Chi-Ca  
 Challenger, The  
 Chicago Star, The  
 China Daily News  
 Citizens Committee for Children  
 Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government  
 Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side  
 Citizens Committee for William E. Harrison (Boston)  
 Citizens Legislative Conference of New York State  
 Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect a Negro to the State Senate  
 Citizens Social Research Council  
 Civil Rights Congress  
 Civil Rights Federation (Michigan)

EXHIBIT 17—A Partial List of Communist Front Organizations.



Committee to Aid the Fighting South  
 Committee of Catholics for Human Rights  
 Committee to Defend and Obtain Citizenship for Michael J. Obermeier  
 Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy  
 Committee for Democratic Rights  
 Committee for the First Amendment  
 Committee of One Thousand, The  
 Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet  
 Friendship  
 Congress of American Women  
 Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative  
 Consumers Union  
 Contemporary Writers  
 Council Against Intolerance in America  
 Council on African Affairs  
 Council for Pan American Democracy

Daily Worker  
 Direction  
 Downtown Community School

East and West Association  
 Eisler Defense Committee  
 Emergency Committee of Artists, Scientists, and Educators  
 Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists  
 Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing  
 End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee  
 Eteenpain

Facts for Farmers  
 Far Eastern Survey  
 Federation of Atomic Scientists  
 Fraternal Committee for Political Action  
 Fraternal Outlook  
 Free Italy-American Labor Council  
 Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
 Friends of Italian Democracy

George Washington Carver School  
 German-American, The  
 G'os Ludowy  
 Greek-American Tribune  
 Greek-American Committee for National Unity

Hollywood Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees  
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization  
 Hungarian-American Council for Democracy

ICOR  
 In Fact  
 Institute for International Democracy  
 Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance  
 International Juridical Association  
 International Publishers  
 International Workers Order  
 Italy Today  
 International Women's Day

Japanese American Committee for Democracy  
 Jefferson School of Social Science  
 Jewish Black Book Committee  
 Jewish Council for Russian War Relief  
 Jewish Life

Jewish People's Committee  
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order  
 Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs  
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee  
 Joint Conference Against Intervention in Greece and Turkey

Karpatska Rus  
 Laisve  
 League for Fair Play  
 League for Mutual Aid  
 League of Women Shoppers  
 League of Young Southerners  
 L'Unita del Popolo  
 Lraper  
 Ludowy Dennik  
 Magyar Jovo  
 Masses and Mainstream  
 Methodist Federation for Social Action  
 Metropolitan Broadcasting Company  
 Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Coordinating Council  
 Metropolitan Music School  
 Michigan Herald  
 Milk Consumers Protective Committee  
 Mobilization for Democracy  
 Morning Freiheit  
 Morning Freiheit Association

Nallebn  
 Narodni Glasnik  
 Narodna Volya  
 National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax  
 National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism  
 National Committee for Radio Freedom (California)  
 National Committee of Sponsors to Help Settle Jewish War  
 Orphans in Birobidjan  
 National Committee to Win the Peace  
 National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East  
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship  
 National Council of Hungarian Trade Unionists  
 National Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families  
 National Emergency Committee for Price Control  
 National Equal Rights League  
 National Film and Photo League  
 National Negro Congress  
 National Wallace for President Committee  
 National Youth Assembly against Universal Military Training  
 Negro Labor Victory Committee  
 New Africa  
 New Century Publishers  
 New Currents  
 New Foundations  
 New World  
 New Writing Foundation  
 New York Citizens Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers Families  
 New York Committee against War Propaganda  
 New York Committee for Justice in Freeport  
 New York Committee to Win the Peace  
 New York Consumer Council  
 New York Interracial Singers  
 New York Youth Council  
 Nova Doba

Peoples Artists, Inc.  
 Peoples Culture Union of America  
 Peoples Institute of Applied Religion

People's Radio Foundation  
 People's Songs  
 People's World  
 Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art  
 Philippines Today  
 Physicians' Forum  
 Political Affairs  
 Portuguese-American Committee for Democracy  
 Progressive Citizens of America  
 Prompt Press  
 Protestant, The  
 Provisional Committee for Democracy in America  
 Pueblos Hispanos

Readers Scope  
 Robert Marshall Foundation  
 Romanul American  
 Russky Golos

Samuel Adams School of Social Science  
 School of Jewish Studies  
 Science and Society  
 Seattle Labor School  
 Slavic-American, The  
 Society for the Prevention of World War III  
 Sound View Foundation  
 Southern Conference for Human Welfare  
 Southern Negro Youth Congress  
 Southern Patriot  
 Soviet Russia Today  
 Sponsors Committee for South African Famine Relief  
 Stage for Action  
 Strike Strategy Committee for Hollywood Strikers  
 Students for Wallace  
 Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity  
 Trade Union Service, Inc.  
 Trends and Tides  
 Tyomies

Ukrainian Daily News  
 United Christian Council for Democracy  
 United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations  
 United Committee of South-Slavic Americans  
 United Negro and Allied Veterans of America  
 United States Arrangement Committee of the World Youth Congress  
 Uss lim  
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
 Veterans Committee against Discrimination  
 Veterans Justice Committee  
 Viinis  
 Voice of Freedom Committee  
 Walt Whitman School of Social Science  
 Win-the-Peace Conference  
 Women's International Democratic Federation  
 World Federation of Democratic Youth  
 World Federation of Trade Unions  
 World Youth Festival  
 Young Progressive Citizens of America  
 Youth (magazine)

EXHIBIT 17—Continued.

DR. MATTHEWS: On that list you will find the name of the Communist Party School in Seattle, you will also find the name of the Communist's Party Publication in Seattle, **The New World**; you will also find the name of the Me—**Methodist Federation for Social Action**.

### Methodist Federation for Social Action

I have noted in press reports that the North—Pacific Northwest annual conference of the Methodist Church last month adopted a resolution, dealing with the work of this Committee. Now that resolution is being circulated by the **Methodist Federation for Social Action**, a copy of which I have and I presume you also have.

The Communist controlling character of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a matter of overwhelming evidence. The director of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the **Reverend Jack McMichael**, McMichael. Jack McMichael was at one time the head of the **American Youth Congress**. He was also a vice-chairman of the **American Peace Mobilization**. He has occupied important positions in several score Communist Front organizations. There isn't the slightest doubt about the attachment of Jack McMichael to the causes and enterprises of the Communist Party. He is the director of this organization which uses the Methodist Church of the Pacific Northwest to attack the procedures and work of this committee.

### Washington Committee for Academic Freedom a Communist Front Organization

In addition to the names on the list which I have submitted you have operating locally in Seattle a new Communist Front organization known as the "**Washington Committee for Academic Freedom**." Presently I shall go into the matter of academic freedom in somewhat—more detailed and what I have to say will, I hope, bear upon the work of this Washington Committee for Academic Freedom.

Yesterday I took up the question of how the Communists themselves in their own printed statements declared their intention to infiltrate the schools of this country and to inject Communist doctrines into the teachings of Communist teachers in our schools. I should like to proceed briefly with that subject because we have some additional authoritative sources from which to throw light upon it.

### Language & Literature

One of the leading Communist documents which dealt with this matter some time ago—some years ago was by a **Doctor Langford**, Langford. With respect to the study of literature and language, Doctor Langford wrote as follows: "This passage indicates the possible role of the teacher of literature and the collective role of groups of such teachers in interpreting the literary products of the past and of the present in terms of the workers' needs. Their field of study is by no means limited to works deliberately and completely favorable to the workers. It is potentially as wide as the literature of the whole world. But the particular poem or novel or drama is no longer thought of as an expression of universal human thought and emotion. It is studied against the background of the historical period and of the class which produced it and its meaning for the contemporary student is clarified accordingly—and here follows an example. This writer was impressed with the possibilities of this kind of study through the observation of a book review contest arranged for the children of the cooperative department referred to in earlier pages. The books chosen by those who took part in the contest might have been found in most children's libraries, but the review

for which one child was awarded a prize went far more deeply and critically into the contents and bearing of the book than is usual in most classes in oral English. Such reviews are usually criticized by the teacher mainly from the literary and dramatical points of view. In this contest the reviews were sharply analyzed from the literary and language angles to be sure that the specialty as vehicles for clarifying the issues between the workers and the ruling class, as reflected in the book's review."

### History

The same method is employed in the teaching of history. "History, when studied in the same dialectical manner, ceases to be merely a medium for the glorification of national heroes or of a national tradition—democratic or otherwise, or a catalogue of disconnected events and characters to be assimilated for examination purposes. It becomes in a new sense a science of human societies and especially of the forms assumed by the class conflict in successful historical epochs, including our own.

History so taught enables the workers, both children and grownups, to be not merely interested spectators of the course of events, but decisive participators in shaping events."

### Geography

Again, the quotation which deals with geography. "Geography, inseparably connected with history, reminds the writer of a series of illustrated wall maps showing the rich and varied products of the world—animal, vegetable, and mineral—and the means devised by men for increasing and disseminating this national wealth. Its producers are sometimes sketched in, picturesquely attired in their native costumes.

Such maps rarely show the worn faces—the bodies, prematurely old—the grinding poverty of these millions of men, women and children; peasants laboriously planting their rice in China or harvesting their rye in Poland; Cubans living on next to nothing amid endless fields of sugar cane for American tables and American pockets; Alabama share-croppers, Pennsylvania miners, New Jersey fruit and vegetable pickers, makers of cheap garments in New York sweat shops—these, the real makers of human geography supply the informed teacher with an inexhaustible source of data for the reinterpretation of present course of study and text-book material."

All of these are illustrations of how to apply Marxism to the content of teaching, regardless of the field in which the teacher is working.

### Science & Mathematics

Another illustration which has to do with the natural sciences and mathematics. It was often averred by the Nazis that Einstein's mathematics were Communist mathematics. Precisely how Professor Einstein got Communism into mathematics I do not profess to know, but the Nazis thought so. At any rate the Communists claimed the ability to get the teaching of Communism into the teaching of mathematics, and this is the matter in which it is so stated.

"Science teaching on all levels from the point of view of teacher and student is too largely descriptive—concerned with merely describing the world and only incidentally affected—concerned with transforming it. Technological change is apparently held to be the prerogative of the business or industrial

executive. The workers need to know, not simply the classifications of plants and animals, but their social significance—their role in human life, past and present and in the building of socialism. They need to know not simply the design and operation of the dynamo, the telephone, the airplane and the radio tube as separate pieces of mechanism, but the role of electrification in transforming factory production and the economy of the home and the role of the instruments of communication and transportation in uniting the workers within each country and throughout the world. They need to know mathematics not simply as a subject to study in school, but as an ever-present and essential part of production, in all its technical processes and in social planning.

In our economy of capitalism in decay, social statistics become more significant to the teacher of mathematics than personal budgets. In the socialized economy the whole country becomes one vast mathematical laboratory, just as it becomes a scientific laboratory and a cultural laboratory."

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, there is a great deal more of this, but I think these quotations suffice to show that the Communists have a fanatical determination to apply their dogmas of Marxism-Leninism to the teachings of all subjects no matter of what character in any schools where Communists have been able to penetrate as teachers.

### Prominent Communist Professors Formerly on "U" of "W" Faculty

Former members of the faculty of the University of Washington should certainly not be charged to the university as it is at present administered. I should like to call attention to at least two men, who formerly occupied positions as instructors at the University of Washington, who have been prominent in Communist activities in this and other parts of the country, simply to show how professors who get into the Communist movement even though they are eventually divorced from their academic positions they continue with their Communist activities.

One of the most notorious individuals in the Northwest is former Professor Hugh DeLacy who was at one time an instructor at the University of Washington. I do not need to remind the Committee that Mr. DeLacy was also a member of the Congress of the United States from the State of Washington.

Hugh DeLacy's Communist affiliations are very extensive, documentary evidence shows that he has attended conventions of the Communist Party in New York City as a member of the Party.

Another former instructor at the University of Washington, Selden Menefee, Selden Menefee, has a very substantial Communist record as numerous witnesses are in a position to testify, even though one witness on the stand was unable to do so yesterday. There are numerous witnesses and an overwhelming body of evidence to support the fact that Selden Menefee, while at the University of Washington, was a member of the Communist Party.

### Jerry O'Connell's Record Cited

In connection with these hearings, Mr. Chairman, a certain individual has achieved considerable publicity; I refer to former Congressman from Montana, Jerry O'Connell.

Jerry O'Connell's record of Communist activities is an open book. I am not in a position to state of my own firsthand knowledge that Jerry O'Connell

is or ever was a member of the Communist Party. I do know of his substantial aid to the organizations of the Communist movement. Jerry O'Connell was, and so far as I know may still be, an official of the Robert Marshall Foundation.

The Robert Marshall Foundation was a sum of some two million dollars bequeathed by the late Robert Marshall to a group of trustees, including Jerry O'Connell, for the purpose of disseminating and propagating the idea of production for use instead of profit. That is a slogan familiar in Communist literature, "Production for use instead of profit."

A good part of the two million dollars thus bequeathed by Robert Marshall has been expended already. For the most part the funds of the Robert Marshall Foundation have gone to support the front organizations of the Communist Party such as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The National Negro Congress, and others.

That is a very substantial aid to render to the Communist movement. To be in the position of Jerry O'Connell to supply such large funds for the support of the Communist movement.

### Communist Front Student Organizations

The Communist Party has never been without organizations, the setup specifically for the purpose of enrolling the students of our schools.

One of the earliest of the Communist front organizations for students was known as the "National Student League." It was hardly a front organization in the sense that its control was concealed. Nevertheless it did not admit that it was an auxiliary of the Communist Party. The National Student League was eventually merged with the Student League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialists' student organization, to become the American Student Union.

The American Student Union operated from the year 1935 until within recent years. There never was any doubt about the Communist control of the American Student Union. Even though the Socialists collaborated in setting it up the Communists speedily took it over as Communists have a way of doing when they are permitted to enter into united front organizations with Socialists and others.

The American Youth Congress also operated on the campuses of many of our schools during its lifetime. It was a Communist front organization and had been officially so designated by Attorney General Tom Clark.

At the present time the leading Communist front organizations working among students are The American Youth for Democracy, American Youth for a Free World, Students for Wallace, and the Young Progressive Citizens of America. All four of these organizations have at the core of their leadership and control a group of Communists regardless of the fact that there may be thousands of students who have innocently affiliated with them not understanding their Communist nature.

### Important Fallacies Concerning Communism

There are many fallacies widely held regarding the Communist Party and its operations. I should like to go into some of these fallacies in some detail, Mr. Chairman, as a part of this record.

First and perhaps of greatest importance is the fallacy widely held that the Communist Party is a political party in the ordinary sense of that term as Americans commonly understand the term. While it is true that the so-called Communist Party enjoys legal status in most of the states of the

Union, it is nevertheless a fact that the Communist Party is not, in any real sense of the word, a political party. The differences between it and a political party are of the greatest importance.

### Not a Political Party

Time and again in the literature of the Communist Party it has been explicitly stated that political campaigns are entered into not so much for the purpose of electing officials to office as for the purpose of propagating the ideas of the Party. The literature of the Communist Party has also stated that when and if a Communist is elected to public office he is not to use his office as a means of participating in the usual legislative processes; he is to use his political office as a sounding board, as a forum from which to attack the very system under which he has been elected to office. That appears over and over again in the literature of the Communist Party during the past twenty-five or thirty years.

The fact is that the Communist Party is an arm of the foreign office of the Soviet government. That is its chief characteristic, that is the function which it serves and intends to serve above all else.

There is also a fallacy that Communism today is simply one among many radical doctrines. I take it that there are many people in the United States who are actively opposing the spread of Communism who would not do so if there were any truth in that fallacy. That is, they recognize the right of American citizens to propagate radical doctrines even though they, themselves, reject them.

### Is a Foreign Controlled Conspiracy

Communism is not simply one among many radical doctrines. It may be debated whether or not in the Soviet Union itself, Communism, as a radical doctrine, has any significance today.

**Communism, instead of being a radical doctrine for the reorganization of our social and economic relationships is a foreign controlled conspiracy to destroy the American system of government and society.**

There is also a fallacy that Communists are liberals. In fact, so often has the word "liberal" been attached to Communists who often have Communists themselves claimed to be mere liberals or progressives, that the very word of liberalism has fallen into a disrepute from which it is difficult to see any rehabilitation for it.

### Nothing Liberal About Communism

The most illiberal, unprogressive movement in the world today is the International Communist Movement. It is a throwback to the dark ages; it is the denial of every principle of liberalism and progressivism. It has nothing in common with either one. If Communism spreads throughout the world, if the Communists achieve their objective of world domination, there is an absolute certainty that a slave society, the like of which the world has never known, even in the most primitive times, would be established.

There is another fallacy that I should like to discuss, namely, that men and countries go Communist because of hunger or extreme destitution; and I think that particular fallacy ought to be exploded in the interests of a better understanding of the foreign relations of the United States at the present time.

### Communism Is Not the Result of Economic Depression

The arguments which were brought forward in support of the adoption of the Marshall Plan were largely based upon the fallacy that men and countries go Communist because of hunger. A thousand times over it was said inside and outside of Congress that if the American people did not feed Western Europe, Western Europe would go Communist. I wish to assert that there is not a scintilla of validity in any such viewpoint, and the record is clear beyond dispute on that matter. There has never been a country in the history of the world that went Communist by the choice of its population as a whole. The smallest minority executing a coup d'etat, brought Communism to the Soviet Union. It was not hunger and destitution on the part of the population that led any significant portion of the population to choose Communism, as opposed to any other form of government of society.

There is not a single country behind the Iron Curtain today that has gone Communist by any deliberate choice of a majority of its population, whether hungry or well-fed; neither has had the slightest thing to do with any of those countries being behind the Iron Curtain today. Those countries have become Communist, or Communist-controlled for one of two reasons; either because they were occupied by the Red Army and have been subjected to the dictatorship of Moscow by military might. The population in those countries might have been the best fed, clothed and housed in the world, and it would not have made the slightest difference with their being behind the Iron Curtain today.

Some of them have gone Communist or have been brought under the dictatorship of the Communists in Moscow, through the work of a Fifth Column—insignificant minorities, numerically speaking, working in conjunction with Soviet agents dispatched to those countries for that purpose, as in the case of Czechoslovakia. The people of Czechoslovakia did not go Communist by any choice of the population. Hunger, or the lack of hunger, had absolutely nothing to do with the fact that Czechoslovakia today is in the iron grip of Russia.

If hunger were a factor in this question, then Italy would have voted Communist and Czechoslovakia would not be Communist. I think there will be no dispute—disputing the fact, that the people of Italy were more hungry than the people of Czechoslovakia. One came under the dictatorship of the Communists because of a Fifth Column supported by Soviet agents; the other escaped coming under the dictatorship of Moscow because it was geographically removed from the reach of the military forces of Moscow. If Italy had been contiguous to the territories of the Soviet Union, there would have been a different story in all probability, but hunger would have had nothing to do with it. So, I say, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the fallacy used to promulgate the Marshall Plan, namely, the fallacy that if we didn't feed Europe, Western Europe, they would go Communist.

If hunger had anything to do with countries going Communist, India would undoubtedly have been the first Communist country in the world, for more millions have starved to death in India than in any other country in the world, in our times; yet India has never gone Communist.

If you go into a meeting of the Communists in Madison Square Garden in New York City, where they frequently assemble some twenty-two thousand people inside and another twenty or thirty thousand outside, you will find it very difficult to believe that hunger has anything to do with persons being Communist, whether as countries or as individuals.

### Are Communists Super Intellects?

The Communists arrogate to themselves the belief that they have super intellects. You will find that notion again and again in Communist literature. They are the possessors of a doctrine of dialectical or historical materialism, which explains all history, which explains all human relationships, and once you have mastered Marxism-Leninism dialectical and historical materialism, you become a superintellect, you understand everything that's going on. They arrogate to themselves the super intelligence; and so I should like to make this observation, that the American Communist instead of being a hungry superintellect, is far more likely to have an empty head and a full stomach; and that accounts for far more of them becoming Communists than the other way around.

### Socialism Not a Defense Against Communism

There is a fallacy, widely held, that Socialists are a bulwark against Communists. I think a more accurate way of describing Socialists and Communists is to say that they are rival sects, holding in common many items of isostatic doctrine. They're rival churches, and as such they have their antagonisms; but the history of the Socialist parties of Europe makes it very clear that when the Communist Fifth Column has reached the point of success, it has been joined in every instance by the Socialist groups of those countries.

There is not a Socialist party in Europe which has not gone over easily without any fundamental objection to the Communist Fifth Column when the Communist Fifth Column has shown its ability to bring about a coup d'etat. That was true in Poland; it was true in Hungary and Bulgaria, Roumania, Czechoslovakia. The Socialists of Italy are today in affront with the Communists of Italy.

It seems to me, therefore, a great mistake for us to place any reliance upon the Socialist parties of the world as bulwarks against the encroachments of Communism throughout the world.

### Whose Civil Liberties Violated?

The individuals in the United States who have maintained vociferously in recent years, that legislative investigating committees proceed irregularly without due regard for the constitutional rights of citizens, are either abysmally ignorant of the history of this country, or else they have a special ax to grind.

Time and again self-styled liberal and progressive groups who are usually the victims of the underhanded manipulation of the Communists, have conformed resolutions demanding that such committees as yours, Mr. Chairman, shall grant the right of counsel and cross-examination to your witnesses. The legislative procedures, both in the Federal Government and in the respective states, that are followed today, have been followed for more than a hundred years, and the intelligent citizen knows that. He is either ignorant or sinister if he denies it.

The Supreme Court in innumerable cases, over a period of more than a hundred years, has upheld the procedure of legislative investigations which did not utilize counsel for witnesses or permit cross-examination of witnesses.

Now I know that you've said that, but I should like to make it a part of the record, from my own standpoint.

There is no denial of the civil rights of any witness before a legislative investigation. That is partly due to the fact that a witness before a legislative investigation is not under prosecution and is not subject to prosecution for any testimony which he may give, or fail to give, at a legislative inquiry, unless he commits contempt or perjury.

There is a fallacy widely held, particularly in the academic world, that academic freedom is infringed by legislative investigations such as this. It may be that somewhere in the many statements made by the American Association of University Professors, a definition of academic freedom has been set down which includes more than the right of a Communist to hold a teaching position, or which includes more than the rights of teachers in the academic world. It seems to me that it ought to be clear that there are three parties involved in the academic world and have rights—and that all have rights and that academic freedom applies to all.

### Academic Freedom

Academic freedom should certainly include the freedom of parents to dissent upon being compelled to subject their children to subversive teachings in the public and state schools. Have parents no freedom? No rights in the academic world? I think they have rights equal to, if not superior to, those of the teaching profession. And certainly the duly constituted authorities of our state and federal governments have not only freedoms and rights but obligations in the academic field to see to it that subversive Fifth Column agents and activities are not carried on under the guise of academic freedom.

I hope the American Association of University Professors will get around to reviewing this whole question of academic freedom in a larger light. It involves far more than saying that the hungry should be fed, the naked clothed and the ill-housed have better homes, the slums should be abolished. I am sure that there is no legislative body in America that wants to curtail the rights of teachers to speak their minds on issues of that sort, but when it comes to a teacher concealing his identity under the conspiratorial cloak of an alias and serving the agent or the stooge of an agent of a foreign power, if legislatures have no rights in that matter then we have abdicated the obligation to make this country secure; and if parents have no rights and obligations in that situation then we have reached a pass where we must surrender to the most brutal force who threatens to override the world.

### Quotes Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

There is a corollary fallacy abroad in the country today to the effect that free societies have no right within the best interpretation of civil liberties to defend themselves against the Fifth Column of a foreign power.

That subject is dealt with by a very reactionary old Supreme Court judge, if I may descend from the proceedings for just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

This old reactionary on the Supreme Court was Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and I think no more widely recognized liberal ever sat on the bench. In a well-known case, Justice Holmes wrote in 1892 the following:

"The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman. There are few employments for hire in which the servant does not agree to suspend his constitutional right of free speech as well as idleness by the implied terms of his contract. The

servant cannot complain as he takes the employment on the terms which are offered him.

On the same principle the city may impose any reasonable condition upon holding offices within its control."

I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be a very wholesome thing if a thousand citizens of Seattle painted that on placards and marched around your hearings, but, unfortunately, citizens who believe in the American way of life are not always as active as those who would like to destroy it.

To paraphrase the great Justice, the teacher in any American school has a constitutional right to talk politics, any kind of politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a teacher. He has no constitutional right to be employed privately or publicly as a teacher, and that is established by the Constitution of the United States in such opinions as this of the great Justice.

If the terms of contract at Columbia University, University of Chicago, University of Washington, California School of Technology, do not give to the authorities of those institutions the right to set down the conditions that no member of a faculty shall be an agent of a foreign government whose purpose is to destroy the government and the society of the United States, then we are silly beyond the powers of human language to state our situation.

### Communism as an Adventure

There is a fallacy which I fear is held too widely among Communists in this country, young and old, and I think it is particularly regrettable that that fallacy is held by young people in our schools. Undoubtedly to some of them their Communism is a lark. It's a form of adventure, a form of excitement. Marching in a picket line or chanting some silly phrase interests some young people. The exuberance of youth has an outlet in that kind of activity but there is one of the most dangerous fallacies possible to hold in that view if young people hold it. The fallacy rests upon this stern fact that the hour is getting late and these young people who find adventure and excitement in Communism today may shortly find themselves standing in front of firing squads having been drawn more or less unwittingly into acts of sabotage and treason if their country gets into war and let no one make any mistake about it, the United States will defend itself if it has to go to war. In the coming years of the coming decade young people are to be the specialty who do not know that they are headed straight for acts of sabotage and treason by virtue of their participation in the Communist movement ought to sit down and ponder the meaning of what they are doing.

### Can Communism and Free Societies Live Side by Side?

The final fallacy to which I should like to draw attention is the one that Communism and free societies can live side by side, at peace and indefinitely in the world of today. Now this is not a matter of my personal opinion. It is a matter of study of the Communist records. **It has been declared over and over again not only by the task leaders of the Communist leaders of the world, but by Joseph Stalin himself, that war between the Communist world and the so-called Capitalist world is inevitable** and we may write it down that it is inevitable. I do not ask that the responsible administrators of our foreign policy announce that fact on any and every occasion. I know that while diplomacy often requires a slurring over of some of the stern facts of life—I know that—but I know, and I think the American people ought to

begin to know, that war is absolutely inevitable between the Soviet Union and the United States. There is no more denying that fact than it is possible to deny that Lenin and Stalin wrote hundreds of books and pamphlets and as their every action from the time of the founding of the Soviet government has been in line with precisely that ultimate aim. I am not here to say that it will be tomorrow, or next year, or within the decade, but I know that American policy based upon any other assumption is based upon a fallacy and I'm glad to believe that the responsible administrators of our foreign policy know that and the policy is fixed upon that regardless of public expression. War is inevitable and the consequences for Communists in the United States must be understood by them in that light. Sabotage, espionage and treason will no more be tolerated from American citizens, who owe their sole allegiance to the Kremlin, than it was tolerated by those young Americans who landed on the shores of this country from Nazi Germany and went straight to the electric chair in the city of Washington. Their positions were absolutely identical in principle and if the country goes to war and when it goes to war their positions will, in all likelihood be identical, they promise.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I certainly want to thank you for the sacrifice you've made in leaving your busy position and coming this far, 3,000 miles from home to assist us in better understanding this problem and laying down for us the pattern of the Communist Party in the field of education. Just one or two things that were not made clear yesterday came to me.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

DR. MATTHEWS: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You made five trips to Russia?

DR. MATTHEWS: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have engaged in the teaching profession for some fourteen years?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have spent practically your lifetime in study of research on the subject you've discussed today.

DR. MATTHEWS: The largest part of my adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Your adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have been told by the witness if the chairman or the Committee have any questions—if not, we ask that he be excused.

DR. MATTHEWS: Thanks.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We thank you sincerely, Dr. Matthews, for your contribution to our hearing and hope we may see you again.

Now, if this meets with your program I would like to call a recess for about ten minutes.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you make it very short?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session.

## TESTIMONY OF H. C. ARMSTRONG Member House of Representatives

H. C. ARMSTRONG, called as a witness after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I believe, Mr. Armstrong that you were here, were you not, yesterday when we instructed the witnesses that this is being recorded and to answer audibly and not with nods, and to speak quite distinctly and to spell unusual names.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MR. ARMSTRONG: H. C. Armstrong.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you live in the city of Seattle—

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON:—Mr. Armstrong—How long have you been a resident of Seattle?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Forty odd years.

MR. HOUSTON: Forty odd years. What is your occupation, Mr. Armstrong?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Appraiser.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you, or have you been a member of the Legislature of the State of Washington?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: And have been for a number of years, have you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Going on twelve years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Armstrong, just for the records sake, I will ask you are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have been.

MR. HOUSTON: During what period of time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Spring of 1936 till the summer of 1940. A little over four years.

MR. HOUSTON: And during that period of time you attended meetings of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall to what unit you belonged?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I belonged to, as far as I can recall, three different units during that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall those different units?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you name them for us?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The first unit I belonged to was the so called Clandestine or Professional Unit, I believe the number was fifty—composed mostly of the intelligentsia connected with the University of Washington, the professors and students—some of them graduates of the University of Washington. The second unit I belonged to was composed of the employees of King County Road district No. 3. The third unit I belonged to was the unit of my legislative district No. 33.



**Fraction Meetings in Legislature**

MR. HOUSTON: In addition to these different units that you belonged to and met with, you sat in quite some number of fraction meetings, have you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Fraction meetings of the heads of the different important sections of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: These even included meetings in the Legislature, did they not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

**Names Many Former Communists**

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, do you know a man by the name of Joseph Butterworth?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion of your meeting Joseph Butterworth?

MR. ARMSTRONG: In the meetings of the so-called Professional Unit of the University district, out there and also the time when we were called together in the Butterworth home to meet with Earl Browder.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, can you approximate the time that these meetings were held—what year?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The meetings of the so-called Professional Unit took place in the fall and winter of 1936 and the spring of 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: **Your testimony would be that Joseph Butterworth was a member of the Communist Party in the year 1936 and 1937, of your own personal knowledge?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Now, you state that you attended a meeting of the Communist Party at which Earl Browder was present in the home of Joseph Butterworth, is that your testimony?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That is correct.**

MR. HOUSTON: Will you describe this meeting for us?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The method of arriving at the meeting?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. ARMSTRONG: I was informed, possibly two or three days before that the meeting was going to take place. I was instructed to stand by for instructions as to the time and the place of the meeting.

The night before the meeting occurred, I received a telephone call. My recollection is that it emanated from Morris Rapport, and at such and such a time tomorrow morning—which would be a Sunday morning—I was to pick up Mike Smith; I was then to proceed to another point and pick up Kathryn Fogg; I was then to go to such and such an address in the University district, where I was to park my car—I would then walk a certain number of blocks north and a certain number of blocks east—another certain number of blocks south or some other direction and upon arriving at a certain signal, which I don't remember right now—it may have been a flag hanging in the window or it may have been a rose there or something—to enter that home.

MR. HOUSTON: And did you follow those instructions?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Implicitly.

MR. HOUSTON: And whose home did you wind up in?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Joseph Butterworth's and Dorothy Butterworth's.

MR. HOUSTON: Joseph and Dorothy Butterworth's. And did you find Earl Browder there?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He wasn't there at the time we entered.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he come—

MR. ARMSTRONG: He came later.

MR. HOUSTON: He came later. And was a Communist Party meeting conducted there?

MR. ARMSTRONG: It was.

MR. HOUSTON: Of high level Communists in this area?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: The people you recognized there were important people, were they not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Supposed to be.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, in addition to that your testimony is that Joseph Butterworth belonged to the same unit you did—Unit 50—in—

MR. ARMSTRONG: In the fall of '36 and early '37.

MR. HOUSTON: Right.

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: No doubt in your mind as to his membership in the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No possible doubt.

MR. HOUSTON: No possible doubt.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you identify who Joseph Butterworth is for us? Do you know what his occupation is?

MR. ARMSTRONG: My understanding is that he is connected with the University of Washington as a professor or instructor of some kind. What its type is, I am unable to say.

MR. HOUSTON: But he is teaching at the University of Washington?

MR. ARMSTRONG: To the best of my knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Phillip Hunt Davis—Phil Davis?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I know a Phil Davis—whether it is the same man you are referring to or not I am unable to say.

MR. HOUSTON: Is Phil Davis present in the group? Mr. Davis was in the hall just a little bit ago—I

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Davis, will you stand to see if this identification is correct?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you stand, Mr. Davis?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will—

MR. HOUSTON: Here's Mr. Davis right here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will not compel his compliance. If he's not the Davis I would think that he would want it known but we will not go beyond that point, I—

THE WITNESS: I recognized Phil Davis as the Davis that I knew.

MR. HOUSTON: The Phil Davis you knew—can you point him out right here?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He's the gentleman there in the blue suit, the blue shirt, and the red necktie.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now will you stand Mr. Davis?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let's not proceed further with this. I think the identification is complete.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how did you know this Phil Davis—what was the occasion of your meeting him?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Various Communist meetings at the Communist headquarters in various fraction meetings of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, were you ever a member of the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, may I ask you if Mr. Phillip Davis was ever a member of the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I am not prepared to state that he was actually a member of the King County Central Committee, although he met with them several different times—there would be times when there would be non-members of the Central Committee called in for consultation and my memory cannot state positively whether Davis was a member of that committee, although he sat in with us on several different occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: You recall him sitting in closed meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: —of King County. Is there any question or doubt as to whether or not Mr. Davis was at that time a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: None, whatever.

MR. HOUSTON: And can you approximate for us the years that this occurred?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I would say that would occur—occur the years 1938.

MR. HOUSTON: 1938. Have you also sat in plenums with Phil Davis?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't believe I have. I might have, but my memory will not identify him as being there.

MR. HOUSTON: But you have sat in meetings with him that there was no possibility of him attending had he not been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Absolutely no possibility of an outsider being in there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Harold Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And what was the occasion of your meeting Harold Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't recall the first time I met Harold, but I know that he was a member of this same Unit 50 or the Professional Unit that I attended in the University—at the University folks—I also sat in many meetings—top fraction meetings with him of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and other things of that type.

MR. HOUSTON: And is there any question in your mind, whether or not Harold Eby was at this time a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: At that time, undoubtedly he was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what Harold Eby's occupation was at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was similar to Professor Butterworth—had a connection with the teaching staff of the University of Washington, his exact title I don't know.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know Mrs. Lenna Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You did not know her. Now, do you know a man by the name of Ralph Gundlach?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And what is the—your acquaintance with Mr. Gundlach?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I met Mr. Gundlach at this self-same unit we have been discussing. I have met in Mr. Gundlach's home, where other Communists were present and we discussed Communist Party tactics, W.C.F. strategy and so forth.

MR. HOUSTON: In addition to Mr. Gundlach being—meeting in the same Unit 50 with you, you have met in his home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Were these meetings of Unit 50 that met in his home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No. That would be just a fraction meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Fraction meeting. Do you know a man by the name of Harold Dunleavy?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is Harold Dunleavy.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Evidently he at that time was Ralph Gundlach's brother-in-law.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Dunleavy a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was.

MR. HOUSTON: And—did he meet in this Unit 50 with you?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you sat in other meetings with Harold Dunleavy?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Many other meetings—including meetings at Professor Ralph Gundlach's home.

MR. HOUSTON: He was in this meeting in Professor Gundlach's home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what Mr. Dunleavy's occupation was at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was a newspaper man connected with the then Commonwealth Builder or the Washington Commonwealth, which today is the New World and also with the Voice of Action, at that time the Communist voice in the Northwest.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what his occupation subsequently became?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Not except by hearsay—I understand he is working—was working recently for some branch of the housing authority around the bay region—California.

MR. HOUSTON: Around San Francisco for the Federal Housing Authority?

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is my understanding.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, that brings up another question. Do you know Jesse Epstein?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh-huh. **Do you know whether or not Jesse Epstein is a—was a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **To the best of my knowledge, he was.**

MR. HOUSTON: **What leads you to believe that Jesse Epstein was a member?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **I was introduced to him by Jesse Epstein—or, to Jesse Epstein by Morris Rapport in Mike Smith's home in Olympia in 1939, as Comrade Epstein.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Comrade Epstein; and at that time these men all knew that you were a member of the Communist Party, and a prominent one.**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: I'll ask you if you testified in a recent loyalty hearing of Jesse Epstein?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Prior to your testimony, did any local attorneys attempt to influence your testimony?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you interrogated by some local attorneys?

MR. ARMSTRONG: At the—at the hearing, not prior.

MR. HOUSTON: At the hearing, but not prior.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a Florence Bean James?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge or not, whether Florence Bean James was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have no knowledge about that.

MR. HOUSTON: No knowledge.

MR. ARMSTRONG: No knowledge. No positive knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: In your position as a member of the Central Committee of the King County Communist Party, were you given any information that would lead you to believe whether or not Mrs. James was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have had discussions about Mrs. James, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: With whom?

MR. ARMSTRONG: With various members of the King County Central Committee, with Harold Eby, with Morris Rapport, with Howard Costigan, and Isabel Costigan, all of whom were Communist Party members. They had informed me that Mrs. Florence Bean James was a comrade.

MR. HOUSTON: **How did the Communist Party consider the Repertory Playhouse?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **As a Communist mouthpiece, almost.**

MR. HOUSTON: As a Communist mouthpiece, almost. Did the Communist Party support the Repertory Playhouse?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I can't—they supported it morally; and whether they support it financially, I don't—I am unable to say, but I don't think they did.

MR. HOUSTON: But they were all interested in—

MR. ARMSTRONG: Morally, they did as much as they possibly could, inducing us all to go out there to the plays, and the plays all had some kind of a social outlook, and were very deep and heavy.

MR. HOUSTON: Now have you—do you recall sitting in a meeting in the home of Howard G. Costigan?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I've met there on several occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever meet there when Florence Bean James was present?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't recall having met there with Mrs. James.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Garland Ethel?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Was Garland Ethel a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **He was.**

MR. HOUSTON: **And can you fix for us the years that you knew that Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **In 1936 he attended meetings of the same unit that I did, and subsequently we discussed in closed Party Communist meetings, the strategy of the W.C.F., political actions and so forth.**

MR. HOUSTON: That was Unit 50 of the Communist Party to which you belonged.

MR. ARMSTRONG: To the best of my knowledge, that was the number of the unit, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know the wife of Garland Ethel, Clarissa Ethel?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You didn't know her. Is there any question in your mind whether or not Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Absolutely none.

MR. HOUSTON: Absolutely none. Was—were you conversant with the occupation of Garland Ethel at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes, the same general line as I was with Butterworth and Eby.

MR. HOUSTON: He was teaching at the University.

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was connected with the faculty of the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: I see. Now, Mr. Armstrong, if I were to ask you about other members of this meeting, Unit 50, you could testify as to many more names, could you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I could.

MR. HOUSTON: Some of whom even were faculty members at the University of Washington.

MR. ARMSTRONG: At least one other that I know of.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe that's all for this witness at this time. I think that he should be thanked. I would suggest that he be excused from his subpoena and permitted to return to his work.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be excused, and you will be in Seattle if we should need to call on you again?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: With that understanding, you will be excused, and thank you for appearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one thing; Mr. Chairman, pardon me, may I recall Mr. Armstrong just one moment?

I don't want any doubt about this. You got out of the Communist Party, didn't you?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: In 1940.

THE WITNESS: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: That's fine.

(Witness excused)

## TESTIMONY OF ALFRED HOWARD BOWLES, JR. A Teacher

ALFRED HOWARD BOWLES, Jr., produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state your name, please?

MR. BOWLES: Alfred Howard Bowles, Jr.

THE REPORTER: How do you spell it?

MR. BOWLES: Bowles.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where do you live, Mr. Bowles?

MR. BOWLES: In Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long have you been a resident of the City of Seattle?

MR. BOWLES: Roughly, four years. Four or five. Five years.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles, what business or occupation are you engaged in at the present time?

MR. BOWLES: I am an announcer, and student of—or rather, a teacher of announcing.

MR. WHIPPLE: In the radio field?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, I teach radio announcing.

### Was Member of Communist Political Association

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles, I would like to ask you if you have ever been a member of either the Communist Party of the United States of America, or of the so-called Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: I have been a member of the latter.

MR. WHIPPLE: By that you mean you were a member of the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: That is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: That was at a time when the Communist Party was known as the Communist Political Association.

MR. BOWLES: That's correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state for the record, Mr. Bowles, when you became a member of the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: Roughly, May or June of 1944.

MR. WHIPPLE: Were you a resident of Seattle at that time?

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where were you employed then?

MR. BOWLES: Seattle Pacific Shipyards, in Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles,—

MR. BOWLES: Seattle Todd. Todd-Pacific.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was there a card or any other means of identification issued to you as a result of your joining the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: Not immediately, not till some six months later.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you recount for the record, Mr. Bowles, the manner in which you became interested in Communism or let's say the manner in which you joined the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: I never had any particular interest in it. I was working in the shipyards, and I met a fellow there who invited me down to a party or a dance at the Polish Hall. At the time, I believe it was sponsored by the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, or some such name, and he told me if I went down there there would be lots of beer and refreshments and lots of good times, so I went down. Myself and another fellow.

Well, I lost track of him during the evening. He evidently didn't get mixed up like I did, but downstairs the beer was flowing like water and, if I recall, they were practically bringing it in in barrels and you could go up and take a mug and put it on your table, and it wasn't long before I had taken in quite a bit.

About that time a girl came up. I don't know her now, and I didn't at the time—

(Laughter)

She did, however, look quite interesting, and she started working on me, and at the time I turned her down.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now just a minute.

MR. BOWLES: I mean, she was working on me to get into the Party.

MR. WHIPPLE: I wanted to clarify that point. What was the apparent mission of this young lady that—

MR. BOWLES: To get me into the Communist Party.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now will you proceed?

(Laughter)

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you proceed, now, with your story, please?

MR. BOWLES: So, I turned her down, and went upstairs, and up there I found a nice looking young girl and danced with her, and I told her what had happened. Well, she says, "You're not going to get another dance out of me, unless you go down and sign up." So, more or less as a whim or a lark, as Mister—or, Dr. Matthews would say, I went downstairs and signed up. I went back upstairs and continued my dancing.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, Mr. Bowles, for the sake of the record, could you establish the approximate date of this occurrence? Just as best you can.

MR. BOWLES: I would say either May or June of 1944.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you. Now, do you remember who signed you up in the — in the Party?

### Card Delivered Him by Prof. Joseph Butterworth at Repertory Playhouse

MR. BOWLES: No, I don't, but six months later, Dr. Butterworth came around with a card, and I took this card not knowing at the time that if I had refused it I would have been out of the Party. Before that time I had written a letter asking to get out, and I got no action on it; so when Dr. Butterworth gave me the card, through sheer ignorance I took it, and found out that they had to be re-registered every year; so I was forced to wait a year, and a year later I looked up Dr. Butterworth and refused the card at that time, and I've been out ever since. That's been two and a half years.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, Mr. Bowles—

MR. BOWLES: But it took me a year and a half to get out.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, sir. Mr. Bowles, you referred to Dr. Butterworth. Would you further identify this party as to just what position he might occupy?

MR. BOWLES: Well, I understand he is a professor out at the University.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, just recount to us the circumstances, Mr. Bowles, of Professor Butterworth's delivering to you the card in the Communist Political Association.

MR. BOWLES: I don't know where it took place, but I believe it was at some doing at the Repertory Theatre. I believe at that time it was what they called a topical review. I'm not certain in my memory whether that was the occasion, but he delivered it to me while I was there.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now you were in attendance at the Repertory Playhouse—

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: —at a play.

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: **While you were in attendance at the Repertory Playhouse at a play, Professor Butterworth delivered to you your Communist Party card.**

MR. BOWLES: **He did.**

MR. WHIPPLE: Now that was approximately what month of what year?

MR. BOWLES: That was either December of 1944 or January of 1945.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, was that the first time, Mr. Bowles, that you had met Professor Butterworth?

MR. BOWLES: I believe it was.

MR. WHIPPLE: After having met—

MR. BOWLES: I think I had seen him casually before that time.

MR. WHIPPLE: After having met Professor Butterworth on this occasion, did you have any subsequent occasion or opportunity of meeting again?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, now I don't actually recall when this was, but during one time I did go to a few parties that they held during that six months period I was talking about before I—before this card was delivered.

MR. WHIPPLE: Let's go into that other thing.

MR. BOWLES: Yeah.

MR. WHIPPLE: What do you refer to when you went to a few of the parties they held?

MR. BOWLES: Well, they were holding little parties at their houses. They weren't official; it was just a gathering.

MR. WHIPPLE: A social party?

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: And so forth? Parties at which other Communist Party members would be in attendance?

MR. BOWLES: Well, presumably, yes. I don't know whether all of them were.

MR. WHIPPLE: I see, and you say you might have met him at some of those?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, I had seen him casually, but then in—it probably was January of 1945, he gave me this card; then later on at one time I was up in his apartment, and I had a talk with him there. That was the last time I saw him until I looked him up in December of '45 and refused my card and got out.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, what was the occasion of your going up to Professor Butterworth's apartment?

MR. BOWLES: Well, one of th—this fellow in the shipyards that I was telling about who invited me down to this party was the one that took me up there.

MR. WHIPPLE: Who is he, incidentally?

MR. BOWLES: His name is Walt Kolemmain.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you spell the last name, please?

MR. BOWLES: I don't know how it is spelled. I believe it would be Kolemmain to the best of my knowledge.

MR. WHIPPLE: All right. Now, was there any particular thing discussed in Professor Butterworth's apartment that you remember, Mr. Bowles?

MR. BOWLES: Only one thing. In the course of conversation they were talking about, I believe, a proposed bill to the Washington Legislature to keep them from referring to colored people in books, radio and other things of that nature in a derogatorial or laughable manner.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you make any comment concerning this bill?

MR. BOWLES: Yes—well, I said that I was all in favor of—of keeping the colored people out of that status but that I didn't see how they could pass a law requiring a man not to put certain things in a book or—how they were going to judge it, how could—who is going to judge whether the reference was a derogatory reference, or a laughable reference, or whatever the case may be.

Q. Now, did Professor Butterworth make any comment about your observation?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, he did. Yes, he jumped all over me.

MR. WHIPPLE: What did he jump all over you about?

MR. BOWLES: Because I just didn't follow along, I guess.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, do you recall at this time what other persons were present with you in Professor Butterworth's apartment?

MR. BOWLES: Walt Kolemmain, for sure. He's the only one I can recall definitely.

MR. WHIPPLE: After that—I'll ask you if any time during the forepart of 1946 if you had an occasion to visit the viewing of a Russian film at the Ship Scalpers' Hall here in—

MR. BOWLES: I waited a year, as I said, knowing that I would have to wait a year to get out. I had taken this card through not knowing any better so I realized that every year they were going to come around with a card so in December, 1945, I went down to this film that they were showing where I knew that I could see Butterworth, he would probably be there and I did manage to see him and I turned down a card at that time.

MR. WHIPPLE: You did see him there?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, I found him there.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, what arrangements did you make about paying any arrear dues?

MR. BOWLES: Well, we had quite an argument. I told him definitely no, we argued for about five or ten minutes and finally he said he would let me out if I would pay my back dues.

MR. WHIPPLE: He said he'd let you out if you paid your back dues?

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: And what did you do about that?

MR. BOWLES: I paid them.

MR. WHIPPLE: How much did you pay?

MR. BOWLES: I paid roughly ten or fifteen dollars. It was very little.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, Mr. Bowles, prior to your going into the Communist Party had you made any study of Marxism, Leninism, etc.?

MR. BOWLES: No.

MR. WHIPPLE: Had you really been interested in getting into it at all?

MR. BOWLES: No.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, from the time that you paid this dues and got out, as you say you have, have you had any further contact with the Communist Party in any nature?

MR. BOWLES: I would like to say for the record, since I'm here to tell my story, that I had very little association with them after January '45 until I went down and refused a card. Since that time I have been officially out for the past two and a half years I haven't even seen any of them. I have not received even a single phone call and it seems that I was dropped completely, and I dropped them, and I haven't had any further doing whatever.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, of course, during the period of time that you were a member of the party, there were other names that came to your attention that we haven't discussed this morning and if it should become necessary you could recount at some later hearing—

MR. BOWLES: Well, it's—well, what I would like to say is probably the amount I know you could count on fingers of two hands.

MR. WHIPPLE: The point I'm making is there are some other names that I deliberately am not asking you about at this time.

MR. BOWLES: That is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: That is all. Thank you very much for your testimony.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: May this witness be excused? You'll be through with this—you are excused and thank you for appearing.

(Witness excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Ernest Stith. I'd like to run, if you could, about another half hour.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wish to be at ease then for about two minutes while I take up a matter with the—members—members of the committee.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Angelo Pellegrini come forward?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that Mr. Henry is appearing as counsel and I believe that we understand the procedure.

ANGELO PELLEGRINI called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows :

## TESTIMONY OF PROF. ANGELO PELLEGRINI U. of W.

MR. HOUSTON: Has the witness been sworn, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, and I would like to repeat the instructions that it is necessary to reply audibly so that the record may be made on our recording device as we proceed.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Angelo Pellegrini.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Pellegrini?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: 6121 East 75th.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Pellegrini?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I am a teacher at the University in the English Department.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Pellegrini?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: In Italy.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you come to this country?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: In 1913.

### Admits Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: In 1913. I will ask you, Mr. Pellegrini, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I was a member of the Communist Party sometime in the middle '30's.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall the year you joined?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I don't recall it exactly but it's somewhere in '35 and '36.

MR. HOUSTON: About how long were you a member of the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I should say somewhere within a year.

MR. HOUSTON: Within a year.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall—

PROF. PELLEGRINI: —I don't recall—I don't recall exactly.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall who recruited you into the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you any objection to telling us who that was?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: It was the organizer for this district. A fellow by the name of Roberts.

MR. HOUSTON: Roberts. Was that Bob Roberts?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I think that was his name.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what unit were you a member in the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I don't know that the unit had any particular name or number or designation. It was just a small group of people there in attendance.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you receive a card in the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you given an as—alias?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I—I think so but I've forgotten what it was.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall what it was?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I'm pretty sure that I had one.

MR. HOUSTON: Was that the general custom of the Communist Party at that time for people to take names in the party other than their own?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, it was.

MR. HOUSTON: And this card was made out in this assumed name to you, was it not?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I believe so.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you pay dues in to the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall anywhere near the amount of dues you paid in?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, I don't. I—I just have the faintest idea of the exact amount. I remember vaguely that it was some sort of a scale, proportionate scale of some sort.

MR. HOUSTON: With a percentage basis?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you hear the testimony of Dr. Winther yesterday?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Did that appear to be about approximately right? About 5% of your salary?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: It may have been approximately right. It sounds reasonable.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor, why did you join the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, I was very much interested in the Fascist experiment in Italy at the time and made a considerable study of it, and I was aware that the Communists were fighting Fascism very vigorously and out of, I should say, a youthful curiosity and at the urgency of this organizer, I went into the party to see what it had to give, or partly for anything I could learn from it.

MR. HOUSTON: You had relatives in Italy that had been persecuted under Fascism, did you not?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, I didn't.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have first-hand knowledge from them of how it worked over there?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Oh, yes, from several.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you find the Communist Party to be what you thought it was when you joined?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, I found it to be, very frankly, completely repugnant to my nature. I didn't feel, as I went into the matter a little further, that I could ever accept any sort of absolutist idea of history of the organizational society and I very much disliked the whole idea of secrecy. As a matter of fact it was very unpleasant, and I realized even sooner than I got out that I just simply couldn't go along.



MR. HOUSTON: And you did get out then, to the best of your knowledge, would be about 1936 or '37 and after a year in the party.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: It was very shortly after Professor Winther got out,

MR. HOUSTON: After Professor Winther got out.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have had no connection with them from that day to this.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I have not.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you meet other faculty members at some of these Communist Party meetings?

### Secrecy Promised

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I think I should explain for it's already known anyway, generally, but I would like to make this rather clear that you know, of course, that membership was an absolute secret, as a matter of fact secrecy was promised upon joining, secrecy from your friends, your fellow associates and the members there were divided into small groups. The members of one group would not belittle the members of another. Each group had a contact man with other groups and also, I suppose, with the central organization. I was never myself, in any position of leadership whatever, so I did not know from first-hand information anything that went on outside of the little group to which I belonged, and furthermore, I really didn't care because I was more or less simply a spectator. Then, when I got out, I severed my connections completely and proceeded to forget an experience that had been very unpleasant.

I remember two of these very vividly.

MR. HOUSTON: You what?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I remember two meetings very vividly, because what happened at those meetings was rather decisive in alienating me from the group; and one was a meeting where the district secretary of the Communist Party gave an analysis.

MR. HOUSTON: Was that Morris Rapport?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Rappaport. Gave an analysis of a labor problem, I think, that was then current, and I—now, that was a large meeting. There were many people there, I don't know whether it was a meeting of the units or whether it was an open meeting; furthermore, I don't—I don't recall a single individual there. I just have a vague memory of a very large meeting. My attention riveted on this man who was giving the analysis of the problem, and I shall never forget it because it seemed to me quite honestly, and I haven't changed my mind in that respect, that the analysis seemed to be inspired by hatred, it seemed to overexemplify the issues, and to take the position that there were simply one right and one wrong. Now, that meeting I do remember and that's all I remember about it.

The other meeting, I remember again because it concerned me very explicitly. I gave a review of a book upon that occasion, and I thought myself that the book was quite Marxian; but when I was finished I was attacked for the review, and the book was attacked for being insufficiently Marxian, and the two men whom I remember in the attack, who really made the attack, just by a very unfortunate coincidence are deceased, and at any rate have had no connection with the University for ten or twelve years.

MR. HOUSTON: Pardon me. I didn't understand the last statement.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No connection with the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you know the names of practically all of the professors that were mentioned here yesterday, do you not? You know those professors?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, I do.

### Professor Cannot Remember

MR. HOUSTON: Did you meet with any of these men in the Communist Party meetings?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **I can't remember** having met in a closed meeting with any one of these individuals that was named.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Harold Eby present at either one of—any of these meetings that you attended?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **Not that I can recollect.**

MR. HOUSTON: Not that you can recollect. Would you remember if a faculty member was present at these meetings?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **I'm not sure that I would.** There were many meetings, open meetings, closed meetings, there were long Communist meetings, and the whole thing is just a vague blur in my mind.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, but now, Mr. Pellegrini, had you joined an organization and none of your associates or fellow teachers were there in it, you would remember that, would you not?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: If none of my associates had been there?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, the—I presume that they were all my associates.

MR. HOUSTON: That were in this Communist Party meeting, then.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Who were in that particular group.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, practically all then, were your associates there at the University of Washington in this particular unit you belonged to.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **That is, they were connected with the University.** I don't know whether they were my associates, some I didn't know so well.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I would rather you wouldn't name them right now if they come to your mind, but **do you mean to tell me that you cannot name a single man that you sat in Communist Party meetings with?**

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I—I don't recollect any that I can say for sure.

MR. HOUSTON: **Now do you recall the first meeting that you ever attended in the Communist Party?**

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **No, sir, I don't.**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall Mr. Roberts recruiting you in the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall did you sign anything?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: So far as I can remember, I signed the card that he gave me.

MR. HOUSTON: You signed the card that he gave you; and did he give you any instructions then, at that time? That you would hear from him, or anything else?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I—I really don't—

MR. HOUSTON: You don't know?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I really don't remember.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't know whether he told you to be at a certain place at a certain time?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall where any of these Communist Party meetings were held?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: One I re—the two that I recall, one was held at my house.

MR. HOUSTON: At your house.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yeah. And the other one was held at Winther's house.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now, your previous statement is in error, then, if you attended a meeting at Winther's house. Certainly Winther was there, wasn't he?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, he must have been there, I—but, I couldn't say for sure that I really saw him there.

MR. HOUSTON: You went to the man's house to a meeting and the man wasn't there, wouldn't that impress itself on your memory?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, it would.

MR. HOUSTON: But you don't remember that Winther was or was not—

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, indeed, I really—I don't recall having made a special point of seeing him or talking with him. I just assumed that he was there with the rest of them.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you sympathetic with the Communist Party today, Mr. Pellegrini?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a member of any of their front organizations?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Not to my knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: **If you could recall some of these people that you met with, you would testify to that fact from this witness stand?**

PROF. PELLEGRINI: **Well, I think that's a hypothetical question. It really isn't involved, is it?**

MR. HOUSTON: Well, let's approach it this way, then. Didn't you make a statement to one of our investigators that you would not inform on any member of the faculty there, who was a member of the Communist Party with you?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: What I did say was that informing on other people is reluctant, and it was obnoxious to me, **and when I said that, of course, I was thinking of these people whom I do remember.**

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now, we—we've mentioned that fact before, so we might as well just get that right in the record, too, here. There are two people that you distinctly remember in the Communist Party, both of whom are now dead, that you don't want to testify to, and that I have said I wouldn't ask you about, haven't I?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: That's right. Now, that's so there are no secrets here between us or anybody else. Now, that's not the thing I'm discussing. I have agreed not to ask you about any dead people; that is because of their widows

and children and those who are left. That part is all agreeable, but didn't—you have not made the statement, then, that you would not testify about any of the members that are on the faculty at the present time?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, I said that I disliked being an informer, talking about other people, and when I did say that, I didn't have in mind any people whom I could identify now, as being members of the Communist Party, but I was—I had in mind these—the people whom I did remember seeing at the time.

MR. HOUSTON: And you are—

PROF. PELLEGRINI: That's the reason—I mean, that's the reason I made that statement.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall sitting in any Communist Party meeting at all, then, with Harold Eby?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: With Ralph Gundlach?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: With Joe Butterworth?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Garland Ethel?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Joe Cohen?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Herbert J. Phillips?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Could you have sat in Communist Party meetings with them and have forgotten it?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I may have.

MR. HOUSTON: How many meetings did you attend while you were a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Pellegrini?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Pardon?

MR. HOUSTON: About how many meetings did you attend while you were a member of the Communist Party?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, I didn't attend very many. I—I was—as I told, I was rebuked for being lax in attendance, and for being disinterested; but I couldn't say for sure how many. Maybe a half a dozen.

MR. HOUSTON: You attended a half a dozen meetings of the Communist Party, and you don't recall a single person that was there except two dead people, huh? I want these—I want this clearly, and I want a meeting of the minds now between you and I on this.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Yes, sir, I remember those things very vividly that made a very deep impression on me.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, when you first join an organization and attend a first meeting, the people that are there, don't they make a vivid impression on you?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Not necessarily. That is, unless one is—is interested in who the people are and wants to know them, wants to find out all about them, unless one makes some kind of an effort, and I just don't happen to function in that way.

MR. HOUSTON: Now do you recall the house, the general lay-out of the house that you met in? Did you meet in the front room or the kitchen?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: In which—

MR. HOUSTON: In Mr. Winther's house.

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Oh, I think it must have been the front room.

MR. HOUSTON: In the front room.

(Laughter)

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall about how many people were there?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, I don't. I—as I said before, it seemed to me that there was a big crowd.

MR. HOUSTON: Big crowd. Did they stand up or did they sit down?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Oh, they were sprawled all over.

MR. HOUSTON: Sprawled all over. Did anybody—did there appear to be a head to it—was there a chairman, some kind of a presiding officer?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I don't recall.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall. Do you recall were there any books, whether anybody took any minutes or anything?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I don't recall that.

MR. HOUSTON: Who rebuked you for your laxity in attending Party meetings?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I wasn't rebuked personally. I was rebuked in my absence, I was told.

MR. HOUSTON: Rebuked in your absence—now who told you that?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Mr. Winther.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Winther. After Mr. Winther's testimony, yesterday, you remember quite a little about Mr. Winther, don't you?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: Well, Mr. Winther was—was initially, at least, in that group, and he was a very close friend.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have any other friends in that group?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: These two that I mentioned who are deceased.

MR. HOUSTON: If you had and could recall any of the details of this would you testify to them here, today?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I think I would.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you want to make that stronger than say "I think I would"—is there any doubt in your mind? Is there any doubt in your mind?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: No, there isn't.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, if there is no doubt then, would you testify to them or would you not?

PROF. PELLEGRINI: I would, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You would.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that this committee—that this man not be excused from the subpoena—that he be asked to step aside from the witness stand now and it may be possible that the crowd and the group of people here that—has this loss of memory, may be before the hearing is over be able to recall some of the details of these meetings.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is the opinion of the Chair that this witness should not be excused at this time—am I correct in assuming that you are a historian?

THE WITNESS: No, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you not writing a book on history?  
THE WITNESS: No, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I'm incorrect in this—I just wondered. **Your testimony is substantially that you are unable to identify any member or past member of the Communist Party at the University of Washington other than Dr. Winther and this person who—**

THE WITNESS: **Yes, sir,** with any degree of certainty—**just simply don't recall** so that I could be able to place a specific person at a specific meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I want to interrogate with this gentleman further, and in connection with some of the front organizations as late as 1946, and I want to ask that he not be excused from the subpoena.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The witness is directed to step aside and remain in attendance for future call to the witness stand. You may step aside now, Mr. Pellegrini.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Chairman is it your wish to recess for lunch now—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —or, Mr. Stith is standing by and it will take him about 15 minutes to read his chart.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I believe that we will recess for lunch at this time. There will be a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Recess)

Manuscript at Washington Library

## TESTIMONY OF ERNEST PAUL STITH Committee Investigator

ERNEST PAUL STITH, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. STITH: Ernest Paul Stith.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Stith?

MR. STITH: 1309 Dexter, Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: By whom are you employed, Mr. Stith?

MR. STITH: Washington State Un-American Activities Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: In such occupation, have you had occasion from time to time to prepare certain charts and do certain research work?

MR. STITH: That's true.

### Communist Party Front Activities of Professor Garland Ethel

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Stith, if you have done any research work upon the front activities of one Garland Ethel?

MR. STITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have such findings available?

MR. STITH: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you give them to the committee at this time.

MR. STITH: This is a comparison of Communist Party Line with activities and affiliations of Professor Garland Ethel.

Source material for the description of the Communist Party Line consisted of the Daily Worker of New York which is the official organ of the American Communist Party and shows the changes in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and Appendix IX, Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities United States House of Representatives. Source material for the activities and affiliations of Professor Garland Ethel consisted of: Appendix IX; The Washington New Dealer; The New World, Communist Party publication of the Northwest; daily newspapers, pamphlets, letterheads, booklets, programs and other material on file with the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee.

### Party Line Prior to 1935

Prior to August 1935 no distinction was made by the Communist Party between Fascist and Democratic governments. They were all termed capitalistic and were to be destroyed by a revolution and replaced by a proletarian dictatorship.

### Activities and Affiliations Prior to 1935

In the Seattle Times of February 24th, 1934, under an article entitled "Learning About Russia From Dr. Garland Ethel" I find the following:

Whether they wanted to learn about one more nation in the Washington Athletic Club's Neighbor Nation series, or whether it was just curiosity that attends all lectures on the United States' newly recognized neighbor Russia,

there was an unusually large group of women in the club's main lounge yesterday morning. And they stayed to ask questions of Dr. Garland Ethel, member of the University faculty, not only in the lounge but in the dining room later, where a no host luncheon honored Dr. and Mrs. Ethel.

No mere description of a unique government system was this lecture. Dr. Ethel went into the philosophical motives behind the organization of the government; **went into Calvinistic Marxian theories, and interspersed his discussion with bits of information he had picked up in Russia a few years ago when he lived there for some time.**

The prime objective behind the economic political and social system of the Soviet regime is the production of the highest type of life for the whole of the population, a Marxian theory, Dr. Ethel told his listeners. "The Soviet system," he said, "is a new world system. The government believes in what is good for here and now and not some distant future time, some paradise. **It believes in the type of life that makes for a width and height and depth of human well being and ignores the question of the hereafter.**"

In other words, Dr. Ethel explained that there cannot be a decent society until national conditions make men live in peace and well being. Plato asserted that the world is only the shadow reality that is idealism, but Marx contended that the world with its richness, its poverty, its problems, are very real indeed.

Marx also said, Dr. Ethel remarked, "that man is subject to natural laws, he behaves definitely in accordance with the fundamental principles of behavior, plus the stimuli that falls upon him. He believed that contrary to the belief that man is a fallen creature, saved only by faith in his church and good works and also contrary to Calvin, that man is a bad egg before he is laid, and the saving of his soul rests only with God, that man's ills are curable and that he can be influenced by his environment."

### Physical Organization of Soviet Government

From the philosophy behind the Soviet regime, Dr. Ethel went on to the physical organization of the government. "Those who have," he said, "expend their energy in the protection of their property, and those who haven't, expend theirs in the attempt to build up property. By private property we do not mean tooth brushes, hats and the shirt on one's back. We mean producers' goods. **The Soviet system destroys the system of producers' private property, gives public control to it and thus does away with class fighting class.**"

"The first five year plan did not complete everything it had hoped to," the lecturer continued, "but was a success to a certain degree. Russia, that formerly had few factories and little industrialism, now has great factories. The country stands second in production of petroleum but is behind in its steel industry. Russians who could not read or write have been taught and in one part of the country where even wheels had not yet been made—had not yet made their appearance and articles were dragged on the ground, **illiteracy has been done away with,**" he asserted. **"There has been the abolition of classes and the women are treated as equals of men."**

"You find women laying bricks, but you also find them at the head of big scientific institutions."

### Communist Party Line Aug. 1935—Sept. 1939

Between August, 1935, and September, 1939, Adolph Hitler emerged as a threat to the Soviet Union as well as to the rest of the world. Opposition

to the Fascist governments; support of a collective security program or a United Front of the Democracies and the Soviet Union against the Fascist nations became the policy of the Communist Party. Important planks in the new curb-the-aggressors line of the party were the anti-Nazi boycott and support of the O'Connell Peace Act which empowered—was to empower the President to name the aggressors and apply economic sanctions against them. Ardent support of President Roosevelt and of his foreign policy and of the New Deal featured the New Party Line.

### Activities and Affiliations From Aug. 1935—Sept. 1939

Here are some of the activities and affiliations of Professor Garland Ethel during this period:

February 7, 1936—Northwest Veteran-American Civil Liberties Union Official Speaks at Auditorium.

Dr. Harry F. Ward, president of the American Civil Liberties Union and chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism failed to speak on one of his advertised subjects, that of the undesirability of requiring school teachers to take an oath of allegiance to the national and state constitutions. Included in the list of sponsors for the lecture were four members of the University of Washington Faculty.

Following the announcement of the list of sponsors, 58 members of the University of Washington faculty issued a public statement in support of the action of those four professors. Professor Garland Ethel was one of the 58.

Comment: **Dr. Harry F. Ward has a long record of participation in Communist front organizations and as speaker for many activities of the Communist Party and affiliated organizations. He has 73 listings in Appendix IX, Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities United States House of Representatives; 4 listings in House Report number 1311 and 93 listings in Reports of Special Hearings 1939 to '41.** On February the 5th, 1940, when directors of the American Civil Liberties Union adopted a resolution banning supporters of Communism, Naziism or Fascism from serving on the governing committee or staff, they on the same day, accepted the resignation of Dr. Harry F. Ward, who had been American Civil Liberties Union chairman for 20 years. On January the 27th, 1948, during the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee hearing he was named by Louis Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, as a former member of the Communist Party.

May the 31st, 1936—taken from a printed program of the proceedings of the Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism, held in the Odd Fellows Temple, Seattle, Washington, May 30, 31st, 1936.

Fifth Session: 2:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. **The Resolutions Committee consisted of seven members, one of whom was Professor Garland Ethel,** representing the Washington Commonwealth Federation Assembly.

The report of the Resolutions Committee was made by Mr. Garland Ethel who reported that a great many resolutions had been turned in to the Resolutions Committee by the various discussion groups, and that out of the material turned in the Committee had drafted 32 resolutions to be acted upon by the Congress.

Comment: In the 4th report of the Joint Fact Finding Committee to the regular 1948 California Legislature I find on page 98 the following commentary on the American League Against War and Fascism:

**"The American League Against War and Fascism was active in the period from 1932 to 1937 in behalf of the Soviet foreign policy. It proclaimed an openly treasonable program. It was cited as subversive by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1940, March 29, 1944, and again on May the 29th, 1946. Former Attorney General Francis Biddle cited this organization as established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of the foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."**

The American League against War and Fascism is listed as a subversive organization by Attorney General Tom Clark.

It is to be noted further that **Professor Ethel was identified on the program of the Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism** as a member of the Washington Commonwealth Federation Assembly. During the Washington State Un-American Activities Hearing held January 27th to February 5th, 1948, inclusive, a number of former officials of the Washington Commonwealth Federation testified under oath to the effect that this organization was Communist dominated and controlled.

May the 3rd, 1948—New Masses—"Statement By American Progressives On The Moscow Trials." This statement also appeared in the Daily Worker, April 28, 1938. In Appendix IX, according to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on page 1617, I find the following:

"The statement was obviously a document concocted in defense of the line of the Communist Party and undoubtedly originated in the headquarters of the Communist Party. The following excerpts from the statement seem significant: "We, the undersigned, are fully aware of the confusion that exists with regard to the Moscow trials and the real facts about the situation in the Soviet Union. The measures taken by the Soviet Union to preserve and extend its gains and its strength therefore find their echoes here, where we are staking the future of the American people on the preservation of progressive democracy and the unification of our efforts to prevent the fascists from strangling the rights of the people. American liberals must not permit their outlook on these questions to be confused, nor allow their recognition of the place of the Soviet Union in the international fight of democracy against fascism to be destroyed. We call upon them to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, and to rally support for the international fight against fascism, the principal menace to peace and democracy."

**Among Seattle persons signing this statement was Dr. Garland Ethel.**

October 29th, 1938—Washington New Dealer—article entitled "Teachers Propose World Peace Parley." "Believe United States Should Take First Steps On Conference."

Letter: "Editor: New Dealer

"Recent reports in the New York Times indicate that the international Commission supervising disarmament of Czechoslovakia is basing its decisions on antiquated census figures and is now ceding predominantly Czechoslovakian districts to Germany.

"In communications which we are addressing to the President of the United States, Secretary of State and the Washington State Delegation to Congress, we vigorously protest these new mutilations of a great and democratic nation and we call upon American Government to disassociate itself publicly from

the Chamberlain-Daladier policy of immense concessions to aggressor nations at the expense of their victims.

"The President of the United States has splendidly championed an alternative policy of quarantining aggressor nations at the expense of their victims, and of respecting internal"—I beg your pardon—I'll back up there, I jumped a line.

"The President of the United States has splendidly championed an alternative policy of quarantining aggressor nations and of respecting international agreements. Yet our government has established and maintained a Spanish embargo, the effect of which has been, first, to quarantine a friendly republic defending itself against internal and foreign aggression and second, violates a solemn treaty dating from 1902 guaranteeing full and complete equality of commerce and navigation between Spain and the United States.

"Hence we urge immediate lifting of the embargo, a step consistent with American ideals. We also recommend passage of the O'Connell Act as practical implementation of the President's recommendations.

"Equipped with tremendous economic strength and protected by natural barriers our nation can determine the fate of the world without resorting to military action."

Signed: "Melville Jacobs, Secretary Executive Board of Local 401, American Federation of Teachers."

Comment: Following the previously explained Communist Party Line Switch in 1935 American Federation of Teachers locals over the United States dropped their pacifist program and adopted the Party Line as evidenced by the preceding action of Local 401.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Stith, is that correct that name that you read up above there?

MR. STITH: That is correct. The only connection there is that Professor Ethel was a member of the local.

September 2nd, 1939—Saturday Evening Post—Communist Wreckers In American Labor. By Benjamin Stolberg. "The Communists have never got very far in the A. F. of L. The few unions they controlled—such as the Furriers, Office Workers, West Coast Longshoremen, the Newspapermen; they transferred to the C.I.O. in 1937.

"There is, however, one exception. **The Communists control the American Federation of Teachers.** The president of this union, Jerome Davis, a former associate professor of Social Ethics in the Yale Divinity School, has for years been conducting summer tours in the Soviet Union, which, since 1934, none but a completely orthodox Stalinist would have been permitted to do.

"According to Dr. Davis, 'There is academic freedom in the Soviet Union for everybody who deserves it.' Apparently this is also true of the American Federation of Teachers, for under his administration the tendency is actually to bar anti-Stalinists from the union. Dr. Davis believes that 'a teacher's union should be a select group,' which is another way of saying that the teacher's union should be under Stalinist control.

"In 1936, disruption in the New York chapter of the union had reached such proportions that a committee was appointed under Dr. John Dewey, to try to bring about peace. The committee hearings open to the members, were turned into riots by the Communists who called the distinguished philosopher a scab for Columbia University. The committee finally reported that Communist disruption was wrecking the union. Dr. John Dewey and Henry R. Linville,

president of the New York Union, later withdrew taking with them a few hundred members.

"Since then the Stalinists have had it all their own way, both nationally and in the important New York local. **The American Teacher, The New York Teacher, The College News Letter, all of them union publications, are virtually house organs of the Communist Party.**

"When in 1938, Lillian Herstein of Chicago, a well known progressive, ran for the presidency against Jerome Davis, the Communists defeated her by combining with the most reactionary wing of the union and by starting a virulent anti-Semitic campaign on the ground that it would be 'unwise' to have a Jewess at the head of a union of American Teachers.

"In the college section of the Union, especially in New York, the real progressives have been constantly subjected to organized campaigns of character assassination. College students, who were members of the American Student Union, were put up to picketing the classrooms of progressive teachers and badgering them during lectures. At last the situation boiled over at Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor John L. Childs, George W. Hartmann, Harold Rugg, Bruce Raupp, Louis Hacker and other leading educators, liberals of national influence, resigned from the union."

**During this period Professor Ethel has been identified with three organizations whose programs and activities perfectly reflect the current Communist Party line. In addition to this he signed a statement in defense of the Communist Party and also one in defense of the sponsorship of an individual with a long record of activities in the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.**

### Communist Party Line 1939—June 22, 1941

On August 23rd, 1939, with the signing of the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact the Communist Party precipitately discarded its collective-security curb-the-aggressors line and suddenly adopted a new isolationist program. It officially dropped the anti-Nazi boycott, and anti-Nazi propaganda disappeared from its press. The Party proceeded to denounce President Roosevelt as a war-monger and to attack the New Deal. Support of the Soviet Russian Peace Policy was declared paramount.

### Activities and Affiliations 1939—June 22, 1941

June 30th, 1939—Seattle P.I.—Heading of an article entitled "Bridges Defense Committee Formed."

"A Harry Bridges Defense Committee was formed here yesterday for the purpose of attempting to obtain an open hearing by immigration authorities for the West Coast C.I.O. Director.

"A hearing on deportation charges against Bridges is set for July 10, on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay.

"Among members of the committee was Dr. Garland Ethel."

Comment: The special Committee on Un-American Activities United States House of Representatives 78th Congress in Appendix IX; page 592 states "**The Harry Bridges Defense Committee, the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee must be designated as front organizations of the Communist Party United States of America.**"

January 19, 1940—Seattle Star—"DeLacy Endorsed by Teachers Local 401, American Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L. affiliate last night indorsed the

candidacy of Councilman Hugh DeLacy for re-election and voted to contribute \$25 from its treasury toward his campaign fund."

Comment: Hugh DeLacy at that time was an executive board member of the Washington Commonwealth Federation. During the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee hearing January 27th to February 5th of 1948 inclusive, thirteen different witnesses gave sworn testimony as to Hugh DeLacy's affiliations and activities in the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

February 17th, 1941—P.I.—"Aid Bill Hit At People's Conference University of Washington Local 401 of the Teacher's Union submitted a resolution branding the lease lend bill as 'dangerous' and urging its defeat."

This message was sent to each member of the State's congressional delegation. The messages were sent as the view of only the local and its members, according to a referendum vote, Dr. Garland Ethel's secretary said.

During this period Professor Ethel was affiliated with two organizations both of which clearly follow the Communist Party line and one of which is definitely identified as a Communist Front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

#### Communist Party Line June 22, 1941—Sept. 1945

On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, the German armies started their eastward invasion and on the same day the American Peace Mobilization pickets withdrew from the White House. The "Yanks Are Not Coming" banners and slogans were changed overnight to read "The Yanks Are Coming." Full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia to bring about the military defeat of fascism; forward to a world-wide People's Front against Hitler and for the defense of the Soviet Union; opening of the second front; repeal of the Neutrality Act and no longer is Roosevelt a warmonger. No sacrifice is termed too great to give full support to the President's foreign policy. These were the objectives as stated by the Communist Party.

#### Affiliations and Activities After June 22, 1941

October the 10th, 1941—Seattle Post-Intelligencer—"Neutrality Act Repeal Urged by University Teachers."

One hundred thirty-three members of the staff signed a resolution sent to State senators and representatives.

Among the signatures on the resolutions sent to Senators Wallgren and Bone and the State's six-man delegation in the House of Representatives was that of Professor Garland Ethel.

I interrupt to recount, please, of what happened just a few months before.

August 13th, 1942—Washington New Dealer—An article in this issue listed some 62 members of the University of Washington faculty and some twenty youth leaders of the Northwest who pledged to President Roosevelt any sacrifices necessary to open a second front in 1942. Among those signing this was Professor Garland Ethel.

February 11th, 1943—Seattle Times—"War Calls Two More From the University Faculty."

War services have called two more University of Washington faculty members from their teaching duties, it was announced today by Dr. L. P. Sieg,

President of the University. The faculty members are Brents Stirling and Garland Ethel of the English Department. Ethel will depart Sunday for Miami Beach, Florida, where he will serve as a second lieutenant with the Army Air Forces.

#### Recapitulation

In conclusion it would appear that from 1936 through 1942 Professor Ethel has been affiliated with as sponsor, member, official or in other capacity at least four organizations identified as Communist inspired and Communist dominated whose programs and activities throughout this period have perfectly reflected the varying phases and changes of the Communist Party line. He also signed statements defending the Communist Party in Russia and in support of men active in carrying out Communist Party work.

MR. HOUSTON: All right, thank you Mr. Stith.

(Witness Excused)



## TESTIMONY OF ISABEL H. COSTIGAN

ISABEL H. COSTIGAN, called as a witness after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, as you testify, to answer all questions audibly—not with a nod or a gesture because we're recording it. Speak very distinctly because it's being recorded and if you have any unusual names spell them. I think most of these names have been spelled.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MRS. COSTIGAN: Isabel H. Costigan.

MR. HOUSTON: And you are a resident of the city of Seattle?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I am.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in Seattle?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Well, I was born in Seattle, but I've lived in Seattle since about 1926 or—about 1926.

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Costigan were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Here in the city of Seattle?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, in Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you tell us about when you joined the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, as I recall it was 1936—1937.

MR. HOUSTON: 1936 or 1937?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you leave the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: About 1939—that was by the time of the Soviet-Nazi peace pact.

MR. HOUSTON: Along in September of '39?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during the time that you were in the Communist Party, did you attend various Communist meetings—Communist functions?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you met various people there, didn't you?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, certainly.

### Six University of Washington Professors Identified as Communists

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Harold Eby?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And what was the circumstances of your meeting Mr. Eby?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Well, I met him personally at our house before I was taken into the Communist Party and then he met with our unit in the University district.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall the name of that unit you met with there in the University district?

MRS. COSTIGAN: No, it was—I just knew it as a Professional Unit or a—

MR. HOUSTON: Professional Unit.

MRS. COSTIGAN: That's all I—

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Eby a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, he was.

MR. HOUSTON: And he met regularly with your unit there, this Professional Unit?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Quite frequently he met with that unit, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he ever act as chairman of the unit?

MRS. COSTIGAN: I don't recall his acting as chairman but I might have forgotten that, I—

MR. HOUSTON: Did he appear to be very active in the—

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, he seemed to bring information from "Headquarters" as it were—on the information.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know Mrs. Lenna Eby?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And was Mrs. Lenna Eby a member of the Communist Party, also?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, she was.

MR. HOUSTON: Did she attend these meetings that you attended?

MRS. COSTIGAN: She attended some meetings, but as I understand it she worked in the Communist Party Headquarters and was busy with other functions and—rather than attending many of the unit meetings, as I remember.

MR. HOUSTON: She worked in the Communist Party Headquarters?

MRS. COSTIGAN: That was my understanding. I never—I was never in the Communist Party Headquarters, but that's what she told me that she—she did.

MR. HOUSTON: She told you that, herself?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man—did you know what Harold Eby was doing at that time?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Well, he was—he was teaching at the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: At the University of Washington. Do you know a man by the name of Joseph Butterworth?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Joseph Butterworth was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: He was a member, to my knowledge, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And of this same unit that you belonged to?

MRS. COSTIGAN: I can't positively remember that he was a member of that unit—he may have attended some of the meetings. I attended only a relatively short time and—but I know he attended meetings in our home.

MR. HOUSTON: He attended meetings in your home—

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —which were Communist Party meetings?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Where no one but Communists did attend?

MRS. COSTIGAN: To my knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of Garland Ethel?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know whether or not Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Yes, Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: And this knowledge that came into your possession while you were a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: While you were attending meetings of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You have sat in meetings with Garland Ethel?

MRS. COSTIGAN: He has been in our home many a time.

MR. HOUSTON: Been in your home attending meetings held there?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Clarissa Ethel?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know whether or not Mrs. Ethel is a member of the Communist Party?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Yes—uh—Mrs. Ethel was a member of the Communist Party at that time.**

MR. HOUSTON: And you have attended meetings with her?

MRS. COSTIGAN: She's been at our home and done Communist Party activities and work, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: You know of her doing work for the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Party work?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Uh-huh.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Melville Jacobs?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know whether or not Melville Jacobs is a member of the Communist Party?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: And you have attended meetings with him?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Bess Jacobs?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know whether or not Bess Jacobs is a member of the Communist Party?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **I understood her to be a member of the Communist Party and attended Communist Party functions with her.**

MR. HOUSTON: You have attended with her—

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —Communist Party functions.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Ralph H. Gundlach?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Ralph H. Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Ralph Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: **You have attended meetings with him?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Yes, I have.**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Bonnie Bird Gundlach?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Bonnie Bird Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: I understood her to be, but I doubt that we attended any meetings at the same time—uh—she—

MR. HOUSTON: You didn't attend any meetings with her?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Not that I would remember definitely, no.

MR. HOUSTON: But you do—

MRS. COSTIGAN: I understood that she was a Communist Party Member, but I do not—I couldn't give definite—definite testimony.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings at Ralph Gundlach's home?

MRS. COSTIGAN: No—before I had joined the Communist Party I went up there inadvertently on a—when I learned later—on a Thursday night used to be Communist Party meetings, and **I broke up a meeting at his home one night when there was a group attending there and I didn't know it was a cell meeting until later, but that was—was on a Thursday night and there was a Communist cell meeting at his home.**

MR. HOUSTON: When you broke it up what happened to everybody?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Oh, everybody got sick—well they just sat around and talked about other matters and looked embarrassed at the time.

MR. HOUSTON: **After you came into the Party you found out afterwards then that you had broken up the Party meeting?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Yes.**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor H. J. Phillips?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know whether or not Professor Phillips is a member of the Communist Party?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Yes, he was.**

MR. HOUSTON: **You have sat in Communist Party meetings with Professor Phillips?**

MRS. COSTIGAN: **Our Communist Party meetings were held at his home.**

MR. HOUSTON: Were held in his home.

Do you know Burton James?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

### Repertory Playhouse Recruiting Center for Communist Party

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Burton James is a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, he was. I say "was" because I haven't had much association with a number of these people for quite a long time, and so I have to put it in past tense, because that's the period when I was active.

MR. HOUSTON: But he was a member while you were a member?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, uh-huh.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Florence Bean James?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Florence Bean James is a member of the Communist Party,—or was?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Florence Bean James also was a member?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Al Ottenheimer of the Repertory Playhouse?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Al Ottenheimer was a member of the Communist Party, while you were?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes, it was my understanding that Al Ottenheimer was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Was this information that came to you in the scope of your work within the Party?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, you almost could say you were officially advised by the Party, then?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Well, I was always—yes, when one would discuss whether Al Ottenheimer could attend meetings or if they wanted one who was reliable to do something, Al Ottenheimer could be depended upon to do it.

MR. HOUSTON: How did the Party consider the Repertory Playhouse? Were they back of it?

MRS. COSTIGAN: Oh, definitely, yes. The Repertory Playhouse served as a—served a number of functions. It was a means of raising money at times for Communist activities. Also it served as a point of getting young people—ambitious young people into the Communist Party—likely young people who took English courses at the University, and who were told that they probably had dramatic talent, or dramatic ability, and then were sent to the Repertory Playhouse for trial, where they were given work in bit parts at first, and brought into the social activities of the Repertory Playhouse, which were largely Communist Party activities.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, it was a recruiting center then, for Communist Party activities?

MRS. COSTIGAN: To my knowledge it still is.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I have to ask of this witness, unless there is something that the Committee desires, I ask that she be excused, with the thanks of the Committee, for her appearance here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We thank you for your appearance here, and you are now excused from the subpoena.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF WARD F. WARREN

WARD F. WARREN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You heard the instructions I gave the last witness about this being recorded and to speak and not nod, didn't you, Mr. Warren?

MR. WARREN: Yes, I did.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name, Mr. Warren?

MR. WARREN: Ward F. Warren.

MR. HOUSTON: And you are a resident of the city of Seattle?

MR. WARREN: For a little over 25 years.

MR. HOUSTON: 25 years. Mr. Warren, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. WARREN: Yes, I have been.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall when you joined the Communist Party, Mr. Warren?

MR. WARREN: Not exactly, but I would say approximately the latter part of 1937, or the first part of 1938, and I was a Communist Party member in good standing for approximately two years.

MR. HOUSTON: Approximately two years.

MR. WARREN: Leaving the party early in 1940—the year of 1940 or late 1939.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you attained quite some position of prominence in the Communist Party, didn't you, Mr. Warren?

MR. WARREN: Well, that's a little bit flattering—I don't hardly think so. However, I did become advertising manager of the—what is now the "New World," a Communist newspaper printed in this town, and I was associated very closely with Howard Costigan, who was sort of a leading light in organizing the Washington Commonwealth Federation, which later became Communist controlled, and also the "Old Age Pension Union," which later, after it was organized some time, became completely Communist controlled.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Warren, your testimony, I believe at the previous hearing—I don't want to go into that too much—was that the editor and the entire staff of the "New World" in responsible positions, were all members of the Communist Party. The name then, of course, was the "Washington New Dealer."

MR. WARREN: Beg pardon?

MR. HOUSTON: The name then was the "Washington New Dealer."

MR. WARREN: Or possibly the "Sunday News." It was one and the same paper. It has had a number of different names. It is now the "New World." However, the editor, and I believe my statement was that 90% of the staff on the—what is now the "New World," when I was active in it as advertising manager, were all members of the Communist Party, including myself. However, there was a small exception, maybe, to that; an office boy or some lesser clerk in the offices of the "New World" might not necessarily be a member of the Communist Party, but the editor, advertising manager and the circulation manager, and the chief office clerks were all members of the Communist Party when I was advertising manager of it.

**Knows Many University Teachers as Communists**

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Warren, if you know a man by the name of Albert Ottenheimer?

MR. WARREN: I know him only through my association as a busy Communist for those two years.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you a busy Communist or he a busy Communist?

MR. WARREN: Well, I believe he was a little busier than I was. However, I did get around a lot in the organization, more or less assisting Howard Costigan and in my capacity as advertising manager of the Communist newspaper that I just mentioned. I knew him in that connection as a learned Communist, and one who is necessary in that sort of work to know who is a member of the Communist Party and who is not, that are key people, and of course I sought that information from people that I was associated with in my work, such as Hugh DeLacy, who is also a member of the Communist Party, and Howard Costigan, and other top Communists, such as Bill Pennock of the Pension Union, and they all, of course, from time to time when I was in doubt about anybody, and contacting them on Communist activities, they all notified me, or assured me, that Al Ottenheimer and various people were members of the Communist Party, and the way they put it is, they were o.k., when I would ask them, dealing in Communist work, of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you attend Communist Party meetings in the University district when you were a member of the party?

MR. WARREN: I never attended any Communist Party meetings officially as such. I probably attended a number of front meetings out there, and particularly affairs held at various professors' houses—in Communist Party affairs, I should say, for the purpose of raising funds, and then some cases, recruiting new Communist members from the students of the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you did move in that—among that intelligentsia group out there, then?

MR. WARREN: Not to too great an extent, no, Mr. Houston, I wouldn't say that. I was active out there and did go to some affairs, and contacted most of these people mentioned here, although it has been a number of years ago and many of them I don't remember. I have been to their homes—I was just out the other day driving around, recognizing the houses—being there on Communist Missions but—some of the professors' houses, but I couldn't place the incident in many of the cases.

MR. HOUSTON: Now do you know Ralph H. Gundlach?

MR. WARREN: I know him. I associate him with the same work as I was doing only in a different field, at the University Branch of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Herbert J. Phillips, or "Scoop" Phillips?

MR. WARREN: That would be the same answer. The answer on—there is only possibly a couple of professors out there that I could identify as being actually in a closed Communist meeting with. The rest of them, I knew them, I had dealings with them, probably at their homes, and such as that, and general Communist Party work, and I associate their names, and I have had okehs from such leading Communists as DeLacy and Pennock and Costigan, and others that they were okeh, and I've picked up messages and taken them to meetings, and this and that and the other thing, but I have never sat in a closed Communist meeting with them outside of a couple in some—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, would you say that while you were an official of the Communist Party and its publication, that official information has come to you that Professors Phillips and Gundlach were members of the Communist Party and could be trusted and you could depend on them to work with you on a Communist project?

MR. WARREN: Very definitely. That is exactly the meaning of my explanation.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, that is what you are testifying?

MR. WARREN: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Sophus Keith Winther, in that capacity?

MR. WARREN: The same answer would go as to the latter two.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have been in many of their homes out there?

MR. WARREN: That is correct, I have. I have been in—do you wish me to mention some that I can think of right now?

MR. HOUSTON: Do that.

MR. WARREN: Professor Harold Eby, Doctor Butterworth, are two that come to my mind. Their homes are very familiar and of course I know them personally.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Professor Harold Eby was a member of the Communist Party? Did you have any information given you concerning that?

MR. WARREN: There is one incident that stands out in my mind. I seem to have been quite a problem to the Communist Party because I was very active in the Commonwealth Federation, very close to Howard Costigan, and apparently he was recruited, I learned later, into the Communist Party about six months, maybe, or so, before I was, and the Communist Party finally decided I was traveling with him, and I seemed to get my nose into a lot of their business, and a lot of their secret meetings, and they finally, I learned later, after becoming a Communist, that they held a meeting where Morris Rappaport, the Northwest district organizer of the Communist Party, was present, and after I had been forced off from two jobs by the indirect political pressure of the Communist Party and blocked on two more, that they either force me into the Communist Party or force me out of the political activities which I was active in, such as the Commonwealth Federation and the Old Age Pension Union, and in many instances the Workers' Alliance and of course, front activities in the local major political parties at that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a woman by the name of Lenna Eby?

MR. WARREN: I know her, yes, very well.

MR. HOUSTON: Was she a member of the Communist Party?

MR. WARREN: She was, and the incident, getting back to my point, concerning Professor Eby and his wife that stands out in my mind, that I know that I didn't rate with them very high until I joined the Communist Party, and as soon as I joined the Communist Party, Mr. Eby, in the presence of his wife, congratulated me because I had said that I was always a progressive and a liberal, and he put his arm around my shoulder and says, "I want to congratulate you on joining a real liberal, or progressive party," or something like that. Of course, I knew long before that he was a member of the Communist Party, before I became one. I had lots of evidence to that.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Garland Ethel?

MR. WARREN: That name would apply the same. I knew him in my

work and knew of his name, but not personally and was never in a closed Communist meeting with him, to my knowledge. I possibly have been, but as I say it has been ten years ago, almost.

MR. HOUSTON: But you recognize the name, and as an official of the Communist Party he was one that was considered a member and could be trusted.

MR. WARREN: Those names were repeated to me, and repeated to me by people in the headquarters of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, after it became Communist controlled, and DeLacy and Costigan were both members of the Communist Party, and Bill Pennock, and I would check with them, and in advertising and various promotional work that I was doing in the Commonwealth Federation and in the newspaper, and those people were okeh'd by top Communists, and I knew them to be officials—top officials and leaders of the local political activities of the Communist Party here in King County and the Northwest.

### Repertory Playhouse a Communist Front

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know any—did any information come into your possession while you were occupying this position in the Party, as to how they considered the Repertory Playhouse? Or Burton James, or Florence Bean James?

MR. WARREN: Well, of course it was another okeh by top officials in the Communist Party, which simply meant—and, of course, I discussed it with them, right to the point of the Communists. It was considered a one hundred per cent Communist-controlled front activity. Meaning, that the top people in control there were members of the Communist Party, and they conducted themselves as such and they furnished us, after I was a member of the Communist Party, with much entertainment, with certain acts, and they were very active in what was organized by—as another front, it was organized as a social club more or less, to raise funds and, of course, to put out the usual Communist propaganda, it was known as Cafe Society. It was quite a title for the Communists to take, but they did; and as I remember, it—they held their affairs once a week in the basement of the New Washington Hotel. The Burton James', who are head of the Repertory Playhouse out there, furnished the entertainment, and of course there was the usual consideration of what funds they should get from the take down there, they were selling drinks—incidentally, they had no license to sell liquor across the bar, but they did,—  
(Laughter)

—and—for the benefit of the State Senators—and there was considerable funds raised there, and there was the usual squabble between, their dickering, between the James' and the Communists as to whether the—all the money from the Cafe Society should go to the Communist Party or at least a part of it should go to the Repertory Playhouse to defray their expenses in furnishing this entertainment; and I was a part of that, I was a member of Cafe Society and I attended it quite regularly, and all the skits that were put on down there was headed very largely, directed by the James' and others, oh, dramatic talent, possibly some radio talent here, such as outstanding radio speakers, newscasters in the City of Seattle who—one of them I know in particular to be a member of the Communist Party, was a member with me, and my observation tells me he still is, was active in putting on that entertainment for the Communists down there, in Cafe Society.

MR. HOUSTON: There is no question in your mind, at that time, as an official in the Communist Party, as to whether or not Florence Bean James and Burton K. James were members of the Communist Party.

MR. WARREN: Well, there is a point in membership in the Communist Party, some of the top Communists that I know have never been given a membership card, or in many cases they paid dues, and for secrecy purposes their cards were held by top officials of the Communist Party; however, with that clarification, they were Communists, and that's that.

MR. HOUSTON: And you used them whenever you needed to and they—

MR. WARREN: Were very very cooperative on anything that we Communists were doing, and the Repertory Playhouse, and we were given that to understand as Communists, not in public, but privately.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Warren, were I to ask you the names of other people in the Communist Party that you came in contact with, you could name many others, couldn't you?

MR. WARREN: Yes, at the time I could—they claimed a membership of nine hundred at one time when I was in the Communist Party—in King County, that is, and it fell shortly to around seven hundred, and I imagine I could do a pretty good job on at least fifty per cent of them. It would take a lot of time, of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, we certainly do thank you very much, Mr. Warren.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with this witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will excuse you, and thanks for your appearing here; and will you be requiring his services again, Mister—

MR. HOUSTON: No, I suggest that he be excused.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You are dismissed.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much, Mr. Warren.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR GARLAND ETHEL

### Teacher of English

PROFESSOR GARLAND ETHEL, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

#### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that Mr. Henry is appearing as counsel for Professor Garland Ethel.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please—you have heard the instructions given the other witnesses, haven't you, Doctor?

DR. ETHEL: Yes. Yes, sir. I will sit where the "mike" will pick it up.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

DR. ETHEL: Garland Ethel.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: I have heard you referred to as Professor Ethel, and Dr. Ethel. Which is correct, now?

DR. ETHEL: Well, both terms. One is—indicates just a degree, and the other is an academic rating.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, I meant that you have your Ph. D.

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Fine. What is your occupation, Dr. Ethel?

DR. ETHEL: I'm a teacher of English Literature at the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been employed in such a capacity, Doctor?

DR. ETHEL: I served as a teaching fellow from 1924 until 1927, when I became a full-fledged member of the faculty. I was there from 1927 to 1930. I was absent for three years, and I returned in 1933 and I have been steadily employed since 1933 at the University of Washington, except for an interim of almost four years while I was away in military service.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you from 1930 to 1933?

DR. ETHEL: Most of that time I was in California, in the Bay District, and taught at San Francisco State Teachers College, and subsequent to my resignation from that post, I went to Europe; and was gone from the end of May until the end of December, 1932, when I returned to New York.

DR. ETHEL: Did you visit Russia during that period of time?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How long did you spend in Russia? How long were you there?

DR. ETHEL: From the latter part of July until the early part of December.

MR. HOUSTON: That's 1932.

DR. ETHEL: 1932, yes, sir.

#### Admits Communist Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

DR. ETHEL: I am not a member of the Communist Party, but I have been a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: 1934.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you cease your association with the Communist Party, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: The end of 1941. I can't tell you precisely when, but it was late in 1941.

MR. HOUSTON: Who recruited you into the Communist Party, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: You recruited yourself in.

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you? Will you explain just how you did it?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir. I went down to local headquarters in Seattle in the early summer of 1934, had several conferences there with officials, and finally decided to join. No one asked me to.

MR. HOUSTON: What officials did you have conferences with, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: I think Morris Rapport was the chief then, and there was a tall young fellow whom I never heard called anything but Mac.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you go to Russia a second time, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: No, sir. I was only there once.

MR. HOUSTON: Only there once.

DR. ETHEL: That's right, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend meetings while you were a member of the Communist Party, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you belong to a unit, or—of the Communist Party?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall what unit that was that you belonged to?

DR. ETHEL: Well, it was the one, I presume, that was referred to here most of the time in this testimony, it was a unit in the University District.

MR. HOUSTON: University District. Who was the chairman of that unit, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: It had no regular chairman.

MR. HOUSTON: It had intermittent chairmen. Do you recall anybody that ever presided as chairman?

DR. ETHEL: Only myself that I could ever remember—could say. I remember I had presided.

MR. HOUSTON: You had presided. Where did this unit meet, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: Oh, all over. That means a great many places. No fixed and determined regular—

MR. HOUSTON: Homes of different members of the unit, is that right?

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Had they met in your home?

DR. ETHEL: I don't believe so, although they might have. You see, the explanation for that is, sir, that I lived in a small apartment, it was so small in fact that it would scarcely accommodate several people.

MR. HOUSTON: You got out of having meetings in your apartment because of that, then.

DR. ETHEL: Well, maybe that isn't the most accurate term, "got out of" but at least so far as I can remember there were no meetings there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, doctor, did you receive a card in the Communist Party?

DR. ETHEL: I did in my very earliest days.

MR. HOUSTON: In your early days.

DR. ETHEL: Early days, but those cards were taken up and I never saw one after that.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you given an alias?

DR. ETHEL: No, sir, I wasn't given one. In so far as it was somewhat the custom to have a name to which reference could be made without using persons' names in too free a manner, I used to use the name Johnson.

MR. HOUSTON: Johnson. Do you recall the first name?

DR. ETHEL: There was none.

MR. HOUSTON: The card was made out "Johnson."

DR. ETHEL: I was just Johnson.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, doctor, about how many people usually attended these unit meetings that you mentioned?

DR. ETHEL: Oh, anywhere from a half a dozen to a dozen, I think, perhaps never more than that.

MR. HOUSTON: How often were these meetings held?

DR. ETHEL: That depended upon the circumstances, how much work there was to be done, but it would be reasonably accurate to say once a week for a considerable period. Not less frequently, because—well, if you want the explanation I will tell you why. Do you have any interest?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I am very interested.

DR. ETHEL: Too much time was spent on me. Too much time on me but not enough on getting things done. That explains it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, who were some of the other members of your unit, doctor?

DR. ETHEL: I will, Mr. Houston, with your permission, I would like to recall our private conversation, a conference downstairs.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, go right ahead.

DR. ETHEL: Yes. Well, you will recall, then, and check me carefully, sir, as I asked Mr. Pomeroy to do that day when I talked with you. I said, "So far as my behavior is concerned, I consider that adult and responsible. I take full consequences for everything I've done anytime in my life, and in so far as my behavior is concerned, I am completely willing to talk unreservedly about myself." Now I should like to make one amendment, in what there—in relation to what I said to you.

At the time we had our conversation in your office, I declined to answer the questions as to past membership, and you will remember Mr. Pomeroy asked "why, do you decline?" I said, "It is based on a technical question, a question of constitutional law, and that's all," and it's my concern with that question that made me give that answer.

Well, since listening to the chairman's instructions in this committee, and to the way the meetings are to be conducted, I see that that is not an admissible

procedure, and so I shan't take that position here at all. Anything you ask me about me, I will answer with complete disclosure.

Now I should like to continue—if I talk too fast, sir, stop me—I should like to continue with a statement relative to other persons, as I told you on that occasion.

### Quotes Shakespeare

I told you that I was unwilling to name other persons as Communists or possible Communists for two reasons. One is, that I didn't have knowledge about their membership that I consider able to stand up under the rules of evidence, and you told me, "Well, after all, this is not court law, and I admit that," and the other point was that my own particular code of honor forbids that kind of naming persons to their possible injury, but most of all it's a question of living up to my own standard of conduct; and in so far as I am and have long been a teacher of literature, I suppose I might quote you a line that sticks very solidly in my head. It's Polonius to his son, just before his boy goes to Paris: "And this above all," this is the conclusion of the advice that the old counselor gave his son. "And this above all, to thine own self be true, and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

Now that happens to be my situation; I have a standard of honor, and that standard is not to name other persons, and I told you that would be my position. That is my position, sir.

### Refuses to Testify Concerning Associates

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Ethel, have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Harold Eby?

DR. ETHEL: I shall have to decline, sir, on the general rule that I have just announced, that that is not compatible with my code, and if I have your permission, I'll add a word or so there.

MR. HOUSTON: You'll what?

DR. ETHEL: Add a word or two of explanation.

MR. HOUSTON: No, I want the answer to the questions to be responsive.

DR. ETHEL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Joseph Butterworth?

DR. ETHEL: I am going to decline again on the same grounds, sir. It's naming the person. I said I was unwilling to do that.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Ralph Gundlach?

DR. ETHEL: Again, I repeat exactly the same position, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

DR. ETHEL: Once more, sir, now I'm sorry to take up the time, but I must decline to answer that on the same grounds.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Joseph Cohen?

DR. ETHEL: Again, sir, I decline to answer the question.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, it is very clear that the witness refuses to answer proper and pertinent questions. I would ask that the Chairman of this Committee submit to the witness the last three questions that I have



asked, if he has ever attended any Communist Party meetings with Joseph Butterworth, Herbert J. Phillips, or Ralph Gundlach.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let me state that we are specifically interested in obtaining information which we feel we are authorized to elicit; and I will repeat the questions asked by Mr. Houston, as to whether you have attended closed Party meetings with Professor Butterworth, or Professor Phillips, or Professor Gundlach.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. I understand.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you refuse to answer?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. I decline to answer those questions.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that this witness be excused.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, we will not excuse the witness; we will ask the witness to step aside and remain in attendance until the Committee decides what action to take on your refusal to give testimony in this hearing. You may step aside.

THE WITNESS: Well, may I ask one question of you, sir, a question of permission?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you may—we will not permit this to go on. Either you will answer the questions, the proper questions of this Committee or the questions we believe to be proper, or you will step aside until we wish to call you to the stand again.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will ask you to step aside, and remain in attendance until formally released from the subpoena.

(Applause—and also—demonstration.)

### Chairman Canwell Again Warns Demonstrators

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If there are any further demonstrations by the audience, we will ask the State Patrol to remove those participating in said demonstration, and upon removal said demonstrators will remain out of the hearing room during the course of these hearings.

I believe that we will now be in recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wish to state again, that we will tolerate no demonstrations. If it becomes necessary to remove demonstrators, that will be done, and in aggravated cases we will ask for the arrest of demonstrators. I do not feel that it should be necessary to make this statement again; and those who may have it in their purview to create a disturbance or a noise, please be advised at this time that we will not tolerate any further display of that kind.

Will you proceed, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Whipple, will you take the stand?

Will you please stand and be sworn, Mr. Whipple?

JOHN W. WHIPPLE, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

### Affidavit of Harold Hippert

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: John W. Whipple.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: I am the Assistant Chief Investigator for the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: In the performance of your duty, has it become necessary for you to take certain depositions and affidavits of individuals from time to time?

MR. WHIPPLE: It has, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any of those in your possession that you feel should be incorporated in this record?

MR. WHIPPLE: At this time I have two. I have others that will probably—should probably appear later.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you proceed with the explanation of why the deposition was necessary?

MR. WHIPPLE: In the first instance, I have the affidavit of one Harold Hippert. Mr. Hippert's name is Harold Hippert, who resides at 4233 Latona Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

At the time this information was obtained in the affidavit, Mr. Hippert was in the process of moving to the State of California; by reason of the expense of bringing him back from the State of California, it was seen advisable to reduce the small bit of testimony that he had to an affidavit.

I will read Mr. Hippert's affidavit.

"State of Washington, County of King, bracket, ss.

"Harold Hippert, of lawful age, being first duly sworn, on oath says:

"My name is Harold Hippert and I reside at 4233 Latona Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

"I am personally acquainted with Professor H. J. Phillips and have known him for several years. He lives down the street from me just a few houses and his address is 4316 Latona. Professor Phillips used to ride to and from work with me during a couple of summers when both of us were working at the shipyards during our vacation. During that period my father-in-law was living next door to him, and on one occasion just prior to the war in 1939 or '40, I had occasion to look through a window in his basement. The vision was clear, as the curtain was pulled back, and I saw on the inner wall of the room a large picture of Joseph Stalin. This particularly interested me at the time and I took a good look at it to be sure of what I saw, because of the fact that I had been curious about him for some time because they had been having weekly gatherings at his home for several months and this continued up, as I remember it, until about the middle of the war. These gatherings would require his bringing in folding chairs for each occasion, and you could see them stacked in the yard before and after each meeting. I never attended any of these meetings.

"I have lived at my present address for the past eight years, and have worked in the Todd Shipyards for approximately twenty-three years, and am at the present time getting ready to move to California, and consequently will not be available to testify before your Committee.

"I have read the above affidavit consisting of one page and thoroughly understand the matters and things contained therein. These statements are made by me of my own free will and accord, without promise of remuneration or reward of any nature and without duress or threat of violence.

"Signed, Edwin Harold Hippert."

APR 17 1954  
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**Deposition of a Father Concerning His Son**

In the next instance, I have a deposition taken of one S. P. Davis, an elderly gentleman, who lives in Burlington, Washington.

When Mr. Davis was contacted, he advised that he had had a partial paralytic stroke, that it was utterly impossible for him to attend such a hearing, and upon contacting his physician I was so advised that to be brought into a hearing of this kind that it would be a matter of endangering his health.

Consequently, the deposition of Mr. S. P. Davis was taken and I shall present it at this time.

STATE OF WASHINGTON  
COUNTY OF SKAGIT

"The witness, S. P. Davis, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you identify yourself, please?

MR. DAVIS: My name is S. P. Davis. I live at Burlington, Washington, and have lived in this state for 59 years.

MR. WHIPPLE: What relation are you to Phillip Hunt Davis?

MR. DAVIS: I am his father.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was your son, Phillip Hunt Davis, ever employed by the University of Washington?

MR. DAVIS: Yes, he was employed as a teaching fellow at the University of Washington from January 1, 1947, until June 30, 1947.

MR. WHIPPLE: Do you know whether or not your son was ever a Communist?

MR. DAVIS: Yes, he was for several years.

MR. WHIPPLE: In what department at the University was Phillip employed, if you know?

MR. DAVIS: In the Foreign Language Department. He was always good in foreign languages.

MR. WHIPPLE: Going back to the Communist Party, when did it first become apparent to you that your son was getting interested in Communism?

**Phillip H. Davis Indoctrinated at Bellingham**

MR. DAVIS: Phil first got indoctrinated in Communism during his high school career at Bellingham. He was on the High School debate team. It was about this time that the Young Communist League was functioning so actively at the Normal School at Bellingham, and he joined the Young Communist League in his senior year at high school, and then he went out to the Normal School and became very active in the young folk's branch of the Communist Party out there. He thought he had me in ignorance as to what was going on, but I soon knew from the crowd he was running with, and the kind of speeches he was making to young groups, that he was a goner so far as Communism was concerned. While he was attending the Normal School at Bellingham a Communist Party member told me on several occasions about the good work that Phil was doing in the Communist Party out at the Normal School. I resented all this and tried to talk to Phil about it, but he would always brush me off with some statement to the effect that I wouldn't understand what Communism was about anyway. Finally I became alarmed and went to the Normal School and tried to have a talk with the President of the Normal School, about Phil. That was Charles H. Fisher. He was President then. I complained to him about the activities of these young Communists and

the Communist Party generally there at the Normal School and told him how they were weaning my son away from his home, and from the church and from everything decent, for that matter, and **all the consolation I got out of Fisher was the statement: 'Mr. Davis, some day you will be proud of your boy, he's all right.'**

I have never forgotten that statement when I think back on what happened to him during those years and since then. If I remember correctly, he went to the Normal School at Bellingham during 1929, 1930, and 1931. Then he started getting into trouble because of his Communist Party activity. They were always calling on him to speak somewhere, as he was a good speaker, or they would call on him to help put over some front movement or whatever the line was at the time.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Davis, may I interrupt to ask you if Phil got into any trouble with the authorities during this period because of his Communist Party activities?

MR. DAVIS: Yes, it seems to me that he was always in some kind of trouble because of his activity in the Communist Party.

MR. WHIPPLE: Would you specify any trouble he may have gotten into with the authorities?

MR. DAVIS: Yes. The first I recall was when he was arrested on November 24, 1931, at Bellingham. That specific charge was being a disorderly person and distributing Communist handbills.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Davis, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit"

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like to have a number for this, Mr. Canwell.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The Committee's Exhibit, No. 18. You will mark it No. 18.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, sir.

**University Authorities Warned**

MR. WHIPPLE: "Mr. Davis, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 18, the same being a photostatic letter written on the stationery of the Bellingham Police Dept. dated March 7, 1941, and written to August Dvorak."

MR. WHIPPLE: That name is August Dvorak.

"Professor of Education, University of Washington, over the signature of William I. Stone, Stone, Chief of Police, in which he says:

'Re: Philip H. Davis  
PD, No. 0639-Bellingham  
PD, No. 21070, Seattle

The above subject was arrested by this department November 24, 1931, and charged with Disorderly Person (distributing Communist handbills). The case was dismissed.

The dismissal does not mean he was not guilty. **This man has been in an institution for observation (mental). He has for a number of years been known as a Communist agitator or to use the Communist term "Agit-prop."**

Hoping the information contained herein will prove of some value to you, I remain

Yours truly,  
William I. Stone  
Chief of Police'

Now, was this the Bellingham arrest you referred to above?

MR. DAVIS: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: **Then this arrest and the contents of this letter was known to the University of Washington some six years before he was employed as a teaching fellow out there?**

MR. DAVIS: That is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was he ever arrested in any other city because of Communist Party activity that you know of?

MR. DAVIS: Yes, he was arrested here in Seattle in November sometime in 1935 for passing out Communist Party handbills to high school students. He got some kind of a small fine and jail sentence, but appealed the case to a higher court, and like the case over at Bellingham, it was dismissed.

MR. WHIPPLE: I hand you herewith what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No."

MR. WHIPPLE: 19?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: 19.

"19, a photostated copy of a letter written to Mr. August Dvorak, Professor of Education, University of Washington, on March 7, 1941, in which Mr. E. W. Yoris,"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's spelled Y-o-r-i-s.

"Chief of Detectives of the Police Department, states:

'Re: Philip Hunt Davis

As requested in your letter of the 3rd, we have checked our records relative to the above-named man and find that he is the same as our local No. 21070, having been arrested on November 11, 1935, for violation of Section 5, Ordinance 32192, **passing out Communistic handbills to high school students.** On November 13, 1935, he was given a \$25.00 fine and 8 days. This sentence was appealed and was dismissed on February 4, 1936."

'He is also the same as Bellingham, Washington No. 639, arrested on November 24, 1931 and charged with vagrancy—a Communist attending Normal School preparing to teach in public schools. This charge was dismissed on February 23, 1932.

We trust that this information will be of service to you.

Very truly yours,

E. W. Yoris

Chief of Detectives'

and I will ask you if that is the Seattle arrest you referred to?

MR. DAVIS: That is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: **Then this arrest and the contents of this letter were also known to the University of Washington also some six years before he was employed as a teaching fellow out there?**

MR. DAVIS: That apparently is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did your son ever preach Communism or expound its doctrine around your home?

MR. DAVIS: Yes, he was continually talking it.

MR. WHIPPLE: Briefly, what was the Communist Party line or doctrine he advocated?

### Compelled to Close His Home to His Son

MR. DAVIS: Well, my home was really broken up because of his preaching Communism. He was constantly bringing Communist literature into the

home in an attempt to influence his sister, his mother and all of their friends. He preached the idea that sexual promiscuity was excusable and he tried to influence my daughter and her associates along this line. His idea was that since crime was a violation of law, do away with the law and you will have no crime. Also, that since sin is a violation of the moral code, then do away with the moral code and you will have no sin. He preached this to his sister and her associates, and consequently I could not keep my wife and my daughter under the same roof with him. In fact, it became so bad that finally I had to close my own home in 1930 to my own son. It was something that was hard to do but I had to do it to protect the rest of my family. He would tell me that he was ashamed of me because I would not contribute time and money to Tom Mooney's defense. From 1926 and 1927 he has practically done nothing except promote the activities of the Young Communist League or the Communist Party. Of course, he has also made a meager living since then, but was unable to hold any job for any length of time, all because his mind was more on Communism than on the job at hand. **He bragged about helping organize the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on the University of Washington campus. This was a Communist controlled organization that was sent to Spain to fight in the Spanish Revolution where many of them lie buried even today. He bragged about organizing a Communist group when he attended Whitman College, just after he got out of high school. He also bragged of his activities for the Communist Party while attending the Normal School at Bellingham.**

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Davis, were you yourself ever a member of the Communist Party?

MR. DAVIS: I carried a Communist card for about four months.

MR. WHIPPLE: When and why did you become active in Communist Party affairs?

MR. DAVIS: About 1930 I wanted to find out what was going on and started working for the Communist Party to get the answer. Specifically, I got just as far behind the Communist movement as I could, hoping to find out what it was that would enable them to virtually take my own son away from me. For instance, during the waterfront strike of 1934, I was a special deputy out of the King County Sheriff's Office and during this strike I was spokesman for a Communist from the Communist Party chosen to confer with the Railway Firemen and Engineers as they were going to throw a picket line across their tracks at Pier 40 or 41. During this waterfront strike I overheard Harry Bridges giving directions on the day they held the big mass meeting near Pioneer Square. These conversations were right out in the open—not closed affairs—but I knew, as did everyone else that was there, that he was a Communist Party member because he was directing all the details of this mass meeting, and this mass meeting was called and sponsored by the Communist Party, and the Communist Party lined up and furnished all the speakers that day. So you see for a time I was trying to associate with the biggest party members in this Northwest area. All the time I had hoped to find out what hold they had either physically or mentally on my boy. They finally caught up with me and made it so hot I had to drop out of their movement. By this time I had come to the definite conclusion that there was nothing I could find out or could do that would change Phil's thinking, and it became apparent to me that his mental condition had become affected as a result of Communism. He developed a persecution complex and began showing it in his actions.

**Committed to Sedro Woolley**

MR. WHIPPLE: In what manner did this mental complex manifest itself?

MR. DAVIS: He got the idea everyone was against him. Just as an illustration, he went in one of the local stores there at home and got angry and threw his shoes in the face of the merchant, swearing and yelling all the time. Later he went into the bank to get waited on and I guess because they were not waiting on him as fast as he thought they should, he got angry and cussed everybody out there at the bank. On another occasion he spit on the new car of one of the guests who was located at the printing plant where he worked. Why he did these things I don't know except that this persecution complex seemed to affect his mind. As a result of these escapades and mental tantrums a few of the business men there at Burlington decided he ought to be sent to a mental institution.

Consequently he was sent to the Northern State Hospital at Sedro Woolley on June 6, 1933. I did not participate in his committal, but I understand he got a fair hearing before the sanity board. The complaint was filed against him by one of the deputy sheriffs. He hadn't been at the mental institution but a few days until all of the Communists in the country started hammering on the governor and superintendent of the hospital to release him. In fact, he was only in the institution about twenty days. The superintendent of the hospital told me that his examination revealed that Phil had a psychopathic personality with episodes of psychosis. On the day he was released there were a bunch of fellows hanging around the hospital demanding that he be turned loose, and I was told they were Communists, and their conversation was the Communist Party line at the time, claiming they represented the unemployed, the employed, farmers and other working class bodies. I was later informed by persons who were in a position to know, that it was a group whose business it was to get members of the Communist Party out of a jam any time they got into one.

The superintendent of the hospital, Mr. Rugge, said they were paroling him to me, and I was working in Bellingham at the time as a salesman and I put him in my car and took him with me to Bellingham and offered to get him a room at Bellingham when he got there, but he said he had friends he could stay with, and I didn't know at that time, but the Communist Party had him billed for a speech that very night. I learned later that he made the speech, and I never saw him from then on except on one or two brief occasions, because he left Bellingham the next day or so and went to Tacoma and got a job with a Communist Party newspaper.

MR. WHIPPLE: Are you familiar with his activities of recent years?

MR. DAVIS: No, except that I understand he was teaching out at the University of Washington during 1947, and I didn't know until recently that he was not still there. I don't visit him any more nor does he visit me. I certainly hate to report to you the things I have reported, but my loyalty to my government comes ahead of anything, so far as I am concerned. My other son wrote me from a battlefield in France during the last World War that if we could see just how the rest of the world was living that we would be proud of America and the fact that we were citizens of the United States, and that it was too bad that we had to go to all this expense and trouble to make the world safe for Communists. This son, Wilbur Davis, gave his life in France in defense of his country and I trust that in reciting these facts it may cause some young man or woman to stop and think before taking up

this Communist philosophy; and it has always been a mystery to me how Phil could get a teaching position at the University of Washington as late as 1947 when his record as a Communist had been so well known for several years. Not only did they have in their possession evidence indicating that he had been arrested for Communist activities in Bellingham and Seattle, but with any kind of investigation on their part, they would have known that he had been committed to Sedro Woolley as well. If there has ever been any adjudication showing him cured of this psychosis they referred to, I have never heard anything about it. All I know is he broke his parole the very first night he had been released to me, and I had no further control over him. I sincerely hope and trust that he will some day get straightened out in his thinking and can yet be of credit to his country that his brother Wilbur was.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Mr. Davis, that is all."

MR. WHIPPLE: That is the conclusion of the deposition.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you Mr. Whipple.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I hand you—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may leave it at the office if you wish or take it up with us at the close of this hearing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may take this communication, some one from this—(indicating staff at counsel table).

You will desist in passing out literature or press reports or whatever they may be in this hearing. You'll have to do it outside of this hearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I—this concludes the witnesses that we have scheduled for today and it is my suggestion that we recess now until tomorrow morning.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Recess)

(July 21, 1948. 9:30 o'clock A. M.)

Pursuant to adjournment, the hearing was resumed at 9:30 o'clock a. m., July 21, 1948.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session, and I wish to again caution against any demonstrations by the audience. I feel, that having been cautioned, if there are demonstrations we will be justified in requesting arrests; because of—of information supplied this Committee, we feel that this admonition is again necessary and I want to state it so that no one will misunderstand, that we will not tolerate any interference with the orderly procedure of this hearing.

A VOICE: Mr. Chairman, may I present an important communication from me and my associates?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so in writing.

THE VOICE: May I explain for your record what the subjects of this communication are?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you may just hand your message to the officers of this Committee, or make some other arrangement. We—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There will be no speeches in this hearing from the back of the room.

We will not attempt to proceed until we have order.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, due to the demonstration we have just had, I wish to call this witness temporarily for just a few questions, out of order.

### George Hewitt Identifies Florence Bean James

GEORGE HEWITT, produced as a witness, after being duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. HEWITT: George Hewitt.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are you a resident, Mr. Hewitt?

MR. HEWITT: New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Hewitt, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, for eighteen years.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever visited Russia?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I visited Russia from 1930 to 1934.

MR. HOUSTON: 1930 to 1934, and you worked and taught in Russia, is that right?

MR. HEWITT: I did, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Hewitt, if you observed the demonstration that we just had here.

MR. HEWITT: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recognize the lady that made that demonstration?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what that lady's name is?

MR. HEWITT: Mrs. James.

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. James. Where did you first meet Mrs. James?

MR. HEWITT: I met Mrs. James, first, in the Profintern Building in Russia, Moscow.

MR. HOUSTON: You met Mrs. James in the Profintern Building in Moscow, Russia.

MR. HEWITT: First. Secondly, at the Comintern Headquarters, which is known as the Communist International Headquarters.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that also in the City of Moscow?

MR. HEWITT: In the City of Moscow.

MR. HOUSTON: In Russia?

MR. HEWITT: And then thirdly, at a visit of the Lenin School.

MR. HOUSTON: At a visit of the Lenin School. Did you converse with this lady?

MR. HEWITT: It was a sort of a general conversation, in Moscow, Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: A general conversation. Did she inform you, and did you find out from her that she was from the United States?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, we were told that she was one of the "sparks" to be used to develop on the cultural field, agitation for the Soviet Government, in the United States.

MR. HOUSTON: Agitation for the Soviet Government, on the cultural field, in the United States. Uh-huh. Did she admit to you, or did information come into your hands, that she was a member of the American Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that this witness step aside. We intend to use him for some other issues, later. It was just this phase I wanted to put on now.

(Witness Temporarily Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wish to state that the witnesses under subpoena, who were caused to be removed from the room, are not excused from attendance at this hearing and must remain on call. Their expulsion from the hearing room does not excuse them from their subpoena.

Mr. Houston, will you call—recall Professor Garland Ethel to the stand?

### Professor Ethel Recalled

PROFESSOR GARLAND ETHEL, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be seated, Doctor. You were sworn yesterday. I wish to advise you for this Committee, that we are going to again ask you some of the questions we asked yesterday, which you refused to answer. We do so, while at the same time advising you that if you do not testify, do not answer in response to the Committee's questions, that we will take proceedings to have you punished for contempt of the Legislature in refusing to answer these questions.

We want you to be fully advised of the possible penalties for contempt of the Legislature, and with that in mind we are going to again ask you some of the questions that you refused to answer yesterday. Now, I think that I will ask those questions.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you ever—?

MR. ETHEL: Excuse me sir, for information. In answering your questions have I permission to say anything more than yes or no?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that we will expect a direct answer to these questions. We will not—we do not wish any explanations or quotations from Shakespeare or anything of that nature. I think it is within your power to answer yes or no and I think we are proper in asking that you do that on these specific questions.

MR. ETHEL: Sir—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We may proceed beyond that and ask questions and we will try to use discretion there but we are determining a question here of whether you wish to be in contempt of the Legislature or not.

MR. ETHEL: Sir, there is one thing in behalf of my counsel, Mr. Henry, that I would like to have understood. Mr. Henry has advised me fully and I would like to have it understood that he has discharged his completest obligation of counsel and is entirely exonerated from any responsibility for my actions whatsoever. He has given me essentially the same instruction that you have.

### Refuses to Answer Questions

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are very happy to have that go into the record; we presume that counsel is giving you the best possible advice.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you or have you not sat in closed party meetings with Ralph H. Gundlach?

MR. ETHEL: I decline to answer that question, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you sat in closed party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

MR. ETHEL: I decline to answer that question, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Professor Harold Eby?

MR. ETHEL: I decline to answer that one, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you step aside? I wish to advise you that the entire—the unanimous opinion of this Committee is that we should cite you for contempt on your refusal to answer these questions. Now, if you will step aside we will—

MR. ETHEL: May I make one request, sir?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may have your counsel—

MR. ETHEL: —state it—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, I think not. You have refused to answer the proper questions of this committee—

MR. ETHEL: Yes, sir, uh—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will step aside and have nothing more to say in this hearing.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF HOWARD RUSHMORE Newspaperman

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Call your next witness.

HOWARD RUSHMORE, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, as you testify, that you answer audibly and not with a nod of the head or a gesture as we are recording these entire proceedings, that you speak as directly into the microphone in front of you as possible, and that when you have an unusual name or one not put in evidence that you spell that name for the records that it may be correct.

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. RUSHMORE: Howard Rushmore, Rushmore.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are you a resident, Mr. Rushmore?

MR. RUSHMORE: New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, for a period of five years, 1935 to '39.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Rushmore, if you have ever been an official of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: I have in the capacity of a newspaperman and writer.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, will you, in your own words, tell us how you joined the Communist Party and detail some of your duties and experiences in that?

### Details Activity in Communist Party

MR. RUSHMORE: I first became acquainted with the Communists in Missouri where I was living at the time and in newspaper work. I met some Communists in Kansas City, Missouri, I believe it was in 1934 where a committee had been organized by Abner Berry, Berry, who is now on the national board of the Communist Party. Berry at that time was the—known as the section organizer of Kansas City, and a few weeks before that, a young Negro boy by the name of Tom Gunn, Gunn, had been very brutally lynched in Marysville, Mo. As a reporter I covered this story and was quite incensed by the entire matter, including the burning to death of the young lad who was quite innocent of any crime. The Communists very cleverly seized on this as an excuse to form an anti-lynch committee in Kansas City. I became acquainted with this committee and, as a rather young lad then, admired the stand they took without investigating what was behind them. Gradually I became interested in their work and also through the medium of a person name of Jack Conroy, Conroy, a writer living at that time in Missouri, editor of a magazine called The Anvil, Anvil. Being also interested in writing, Conroy had me submit several short stories to this publication which was completely controlled by the Communist Party.

Through the two media, I gradually became drawn into the Communist movement and joined it in St. Louis and the early part of 1935 joined the Young Communist League at that time.

Then I went to New York to the first convention of the American Writers Congress. I believe that was in May, 1935, and was asked, while there, to go on the Staff of the Young Worker, the official organ of the Young Communist League. They needed someone with professional newspaper training and I went there in the summer of 1935 to become their managing editor.

The paper was discontinued in 1936 to become the Cabinet Youth at a later date.

I have a letter here which I would like to insert into the record for, shall we say, purposes of creditability.

On the letterhead of the Young Communists League of the United States, a section of the Young Communists' International, the address 35 E. 12th St., New York City.

"To whom it may concern:

"Howard Rushmore worked on the Young Worker from February the 1st, 1935 until the paper ceased publication, May, 1936.

"During the time that Mr. Rushmore worked for us in the capacity of Managing Editor of our publication, we profited by his services, for he is both a capable writer and newspaper man.

"It was only due to the fact that our paper ceased publication that we were forced to dismiss him. We can vouch for his capability and energy.

"Sincerely, Joseph Cohen, National Educational Director of The Young Communist League; former Editor of The Young Order."

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let's take just a moment here for the Public Address system here, so that it can be extended into a downstairs room where I understand there is quite a large group of people—people who have not been able to get into the hearing room. Shall we proceed?

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you proceed Mr. Rushmore?

MR. RUSHMORE: Following the staff of the Young Worker and a member of The Young Communist League, I had occasion to note a number of interesting things: that at that time the Communist Party Line was gradually changing from the avowed Revolutionary Program to one of what Browder—Earl Browder, called the "Communism is the Americanism of the Twentieth Century." But looking back on some of the documents that were sold, even in 1935, by the Young Communist League, we find that the switch had to be rather rapid, and their literature—hundreds of thousands of pamphlets—had to be recalled and destroyed when the Line changed.

But the basic Line of the Young Communist League, which had been followed from 1921 until the present time—no matter what name the Y.C.L. may have taken—is contained in this booklet, "The Program of The Young Communist International," bears the imprint of The Young Communist League of America; 43 East 125th street, New York City.

It was printed in England and distributed in this country. The date is 19 and 29. It is interesting now to take this theoretical bible of the Young Communist League and compare some of the changes in the Line and how the Line always swings back to this basic program.

I quote from page 47 of this Program of The Young Communist International which says: "Revolutionary work in the bourgeois army, through the organization of nuclei, nuclei, revolutionary circles and groups work among the recruits and regular troops; among the reserves and Colonial occupation troops; among organizations for military training; educational propaganda against war; militarism, and the utilization of the army in the service of Capitalism."

The Y.C.L. combats both compulsory and voluntary forms of bourgeois military training of the youth, not in the spirit of pacifism but from the standpoint of the class struggle.

MR. HOUSTON: What period of time did you say that was for?

MR. RUSHMORE: This was 1929.

MR. HOUSTON: I thought it was really in 1948.

### Students for Wallace Program Same as Young Communist League

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, the Students for Wallace had the same program. The wording is a bit different, but you will find the Students for Wallace throughout the nation—I imagine here in Seattle—I know it's particularly true in New York, that **The Young Communist League, later known as the American Youth for Democracy and now known as the Students for Wallace, had identically the same program;** a little more skilled in their use of language, but the program was the same. And quoting further, "The Y.C.L. tells the young workers called up for service in these organizations—speaking of the Army and Navy—to join them and to carry on educational and disintegrative work there."

By disintegrative work the Communists mean about this. In 19 and 35 I met a girl at the Y.C.L. headquarters on the ninth floor, 35 East 12th street in New York. Her first name was Marian—I don't recall her last name, except that she was in charge of correspondence for what the Young Communist League called the Military Commission.

This Military Commission was a super-secret organization which had its headquarters at an apartment in Brooklyn, entirely removed from the center of Communist operations.

**Marian, incidentally, was from Seattle, and told me that before coming to New York she had done some what they call "underground work" among the Navy boys, here.**

MR. HOUSTON: Who was this?

MR. RUSHMORE: Her first name was Marian. I don't remember her last name, but she was in charge of correspondence and detail work for the "Military Commission" of The Young Communist League—and the plan worked something like this: that members of The Young Communist League, stationed in various Army areas or Navy ports, had contacts aboard ships or in the Army. They would supply, through a rather involved series of mail drops, Party directives, Party literature, to these contacts in the Navy and Army.

This work has been carried on consistently and very, very secretly, by the Communist Party and Young Communist League since—well, for two decades. It is interesting to note that in spite of this sort of activity the Young—the Communist Party issued in 1945 a leaflet called "Buddies, Patriots, Communists" issued by the New York State Election Campaign Committee, Communist Party. I quote from this pamphlet or leaflet:

"The Communists have a proud tradition of fighting in the ranks of the anti-fascist people. Three thousand American Communists fought in Spain in the Lincoln Battalion against the axis attacks on democracy there. After Pearl Harbor more than fifteen thousand New York Communists served their country in the armed forces within the Merchant Marine. We who fought side by side with our fellow Americans for the victory, want a lasting peace," so forth and so on.



### Will Enter Armed Services

The Communist Party welcome this opportunity to enter the Armed Forces, and since they have been mustered out they have publicly declared that they intended to join the American Legion, work within that organization; they have captured large forces of the American Veterans Committee; and they still have comrades in the Armed Services who are carrying on espionage work for Stalin in our own Navy and Army; but they have maintained these contacts, these comrades in the various armed services, as I said, off and on for twenty years.

In connection with military work carried on by the Young Communists League and the Communist Party, around 1937—at that time I was on the staff of the “Daily Worker”—**a comrade came on the staff by the name of Lowell Wakefield, from Seattle.** Wakefield had not had previous newspaper experience, as far as I could determine, and he was broken in with the help of myself and some others who had had considerable experience in the game.

Wakefield's job on the staff was as the general assignment reporter, but he had told me that he was—had a special assignment for the Party and that he was receiving training while in New York. Now, often on the staff of the “Worker,” were people—

MR. HOUSTON: You mean the “Daily Worker.” You refer to the—

MR. RUSHMORE: The “Daily Worker,” the official organ of the Communist Party.

—were people who were sent there to do ostensibly a job of reporting, or where he might do makeup or copy-desk work, who actually were being trained for much more important activity in the Party.

Now what Wakefield was being trained for, I do not know. However, on two occasions, I was with Wakefield at the apartment of James S. Allen, Allen, whose real name is Sol Auerbach, Auerbach, or Allen, was a member of the Soviet underground, although posing as an American citizen—he may now be, I do not know—who, whose assignment was underground work for the Communist International in the Philippines, Hawaii, and in Alaska.

**On one occasion at the apartment, Auerbach said that Wakefield was very promising and he looked forward to a long and successful career for Wakefield in the Party activities.** Now what happened to Wakefield after that I do not know, but I do know that he is not on the “Worker” staff any longer and not in the East as far as I know.

MR. HOUSTON: **That is Lowell Wakefield, who formerly was in the City of Seattle?**

MR. RUSHMORE: **He told me that he had come from Seattle, yes.**

MR. HOUSTON: And can you fix the date, approximately, that this was—that is, the year?

MR. RUSHMORE: He was on the “Worker” staff I would say, in '37 and '38.

MR. HOUSTON: '37 and '38.

MR. RUSHMORE: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you subsequently hear whether or not that was the Lowell Wakefield that came back to Seattle and published a publication known as the “Voice of Action”?

MR. RUSHMORE: No, I don't.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't recall.

MR. RUSHMORE: As I say, I—I lost track of him. I left the Communist Party and the “Daily Worker” in '39 and I haven't seen his by-line in the “Daily Worker.” That's my only indication that he isn't on the staff.

MR. HOUSTON: All right, thank you, Mr. Rushmore.

### They Would Expose Bourgeois Morality

MR. RUSHMORE: Another interesting change in the Communists League—if I can find the reference here—quoting from the same program of the Young Communists International, “The Young Communist International, and the Young Communist League, energetically combat hypocritical, bourgeois morality, and expose it as one of the means of maintaining the system of exploitation.”

Now that, of course, is typical Communist jargon, but translated we might say that under capitalism morality is a tool in the hands of the ruling class; so in 1929 the Young Communists International, of which the Y.C.L. of the United States was a section, and a very loyal section, was against bourgeois morality.

Then we turn to the constitution of the Young Communists League of the U. S. A., adopted May the 11th, 15th, 1939 in New York City. “Grounds for expulsion,” this document states, “were two—were a number of them. One, if he or she advocates the use of force and violence,” which is amusing, of course; but here, in connection with this subject, “If his or her personal actions or morals are such as to bring discredit upon the Young Communists League, U. S. A., or the Progressive Movement. . . .”

We have here another pamphlet by John Little, published in 1939, entitled, “Life for America's Sons and Daughters.” On page 22, Comrade Little says, “Another problem that affects the whole future of America, is marriage. Tens of thousands of young people in our cities have been forced to postpone, and even forego, marriage and the raising of a family because of economic reasons. What effect this has upon the morals of our generation and the hope of the future, can be too easily imagined. Why should not our state provide for a marriage subsidy for young couples who desire to enter into matrimony?”

There within a period of ten years is a rather rapid switch in the Young Communists League line. At the 1938 convention of the Young Communist League, Mother Bloor, who is quite an old character in the Communist Movement in this country, who has had, I would say, at least five official husbands, and around 100 unofficial ones, called a meeting of the girl delegates to the Young Communist League and gave them the line that if you are living with the boy, marry him, and if you are living with more than one, just stick to one. This was told me by a girl delegate who attended the meeting and was a little bit perplexed being a new member of the Young Communist League.

However, during this new line, so-called, the Young Communists League had a contact with a doctor living on Washington Square, New York City, a member of the Communist Party. **I know of my own knowledge of at least three girl friends of Young Communists league leaders who went to him for abortions and that this doctor was kept rather busy performing abortions for the wives and mistresses of the various Communist leaders in New York.** I cite that merely as an example of the actual fact that the 1929 declaration,

the attack on bourgeois morality, felt good despite the proclaimed changes in these two pamphlets and that the morality still within the Youth Movement of the Communist Party is predicated and based upon the program of the Young Communist International, the attack upon bourgeois morality, quoted in 1929, nineteen years ago.

### Was Ruby Bates Raped?

MR. HOUSTON: Now, speaking of this question of morality, were you a member of the Communist Party during the period of the so-called Scottsboro case?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, a member of the Young Communist League at the time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge as to any of the characters involved in that case?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I was assigned to the unit in Harlem while I was on the Young Worker. All staff members of the Daily Worker or the Young Worker had to belong to a party unit whose activities—the unit's activities were quite a—different departure from newspaper work and this particular unit in Harlem of the Young Communist League I attended—oh, about once a month, and one night I met a girl there who identified herself as Ruby Bates.

Now the famous Scottsboro case in Scottsboro, Alabama, had as one of the plaintiffs a girl by the name of Ruby Bates who charged that nine Negro boys had raped her and her friend, I believe on a freight train somewhere in Alabama. **The thing that startled me was that this was the same Ruby Bates that I met at this Young Communist League meeting who identified herself as a member of the Young Communist League and who is married to a Negro organizer for the Communist Party.** Which may indicate, I do not know, I have no proof of this, that the Scottsboro case was quite cleverly handled by the party from the beginning and although Ruby said she joined the party after it happened I often wonder if this was not a rather clever propaganda move to stir up, not only an agitational issue and a racial issue, but to raise money for the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: You have, of your own knowledge, experienced this philosophy of theirs of immorality?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I was oddly enough married at the time that I was on the Young Worker and I wouldn't say that all of the members of the staff of that paper—

MR. HOUSTON: I didn't ask you if you'd been immoral—

MR. RUSHMORE: I am quite willing to admit it. I'm trying to refresh my recollection.

There were a few Y.C.L.'ers who were married, and quite legitimately, but it seems to me that the immorality was part of the basic philosophy of the Young Communist League in the sense of living in an artificial condition in a country which they had been taught to hate; that immorality went hand in hand with denial of all the things that they had been brought up on, of customs and traditions, that the—a complete abandonment of the very healthy things that this country stands for.

MR. HOUSTON: Yesterday we had the testimony of a father, that he had to bar his son from his home because the boy was preaching to his mother and to his younger sister that there was no such thing as immorality, that it wasn't wrong, that it was just a violation of the moral code and all you need

to do was to abolish the moral code which the Communists have done, and in so, they wiped out any wrong of that.

Would you say that that was the correct philosophy of the Young Communist League?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, as I have quoted from their own document, which as I say—said has been consistently their bible, **they not only advocated it but they practiced it**, which I have seen personally within the Young Communist League, but that is the philosophy, the abolition of the bourgeois moral code went hand in hand with the abolition of all bourgeois society, including the—I might add—the church, significantly, the—on the same page with a quote urging the abolition of bourgeois morality. I quote from the same document saying:

### Y.C.L. Against Church and Religion

"The Young Communist League pays special attention to the struggle against the church and religion by means of unkind educational work. **Religion is the opium of the people.**" That went hand in hand, attacks upon morality, religion, customs and traditions, and I would say—I didn't hear this father's testimony—but his son undoubtedly had picked that up within the Young Communist League. What period was that?

MR. HOUSTON: That was in the early '30's.

MR. RUSHMORE: Oh, yes, definitely.

MR. HOUSTON: Fine, all right, we will proceed with the next phase of the hearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge of the movement and work of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, that was a reactive out in our part of the country here. Do you have any personal knowledge of that?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, I do. I wonder if—before we go into this, Mr. Houston, there's one thing I neglected to add in connection with the attack upon religion.

### Y.W.C.A. Official Member of Young Communist League

The chief of publications, editor-in-chief is her title, for the Young Women's Christian Association for the United States, the Y.W.C.A., is Rose Terlin. Rose Terlin is a member of the Young Communist League, I know of my own knowledge, later joined the Communist Party.

**Terlin, Comrade Terlin, in the Y.W. publications which hundreds of thousands of very clean and very non-Communist Y.W. girls read every month or every week, has managed consistently to sneak in the party line for ten years, even daring to use official Communist Party songs in the Y.W. song books.**

The Y.C.L. has managed to plant other important comrades such as Rose Terlin in religious groups, not only the Y.W.C.A. but in Jewish organizations, Jewish Youth organizations which are quite religious and quite anti-Communist, into certain Catholic groups. They have done a magnificent job of the Trojan horse within certain religious bodies. At the same time having in their own documents the declaration that religion is the opium of the people.

I just wanted to get that in.

### Abraham Lincoln Brigade a Communist Movement

Now, on the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That was organized by the Communist International as a world-wide movement to raise military strength to help the Loyalists in Spain. I might add that by the time the International Brigade, which was the World-Wide Brigade and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American section of this brigade, had reached Spain and were fighting for the Loyal—Loyalists, it was no longer a fight, as the Communists call it, between Democracy and Fascism. It was a fight between two forms of Fascism, one red and one brown. By that time Stalin and the commissars, the GPU men in Spain, had firmly seized control of the Loyalist Army and were fighting, with one Fascist fighting another by that time. The first year of the war there was some genuine democratic elements who were opposed to Franco but not after the Communists took over.

This brigade, I have a little personal knowledge of this, I was in Iowa during—getting some material for the Daily Worker when a Communist member that's in the committee, I'm trying to think of his name, Mills, I don't remember his first name, Mills, came through and gave orders in Des Moines that the Communist Party in Iowa had to recruit, I think, forty young able-bodied party members or sympathizers to be sent to Spain and he left in cash with the district organizer of Iowa, James Porter, who later became a Lt. Colonel in the Army, I might add.

MR. HOUSTON: Army of the United States or the Spanish?

MR. RUSHMORE: That's right. The Army of the United States in the second war.

I gave Porter in cash \$500 a piece, I think, for 20 recruits for their expenses.

### Gives Porter \$500.00 for Each Recruit

The Communist Party, during the period of organizing the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, had endless funds some of which, I am sure, came from abroad and of course quite a bit from Hollywood, New York and other cities where various Loyalist committees were set up by the party. And of course the Communist Party will let the—back in thirty—in the spring of 1937, I returned to New York and went on the staff of the Daily Worker and placed there largely by Clarence Hathaway, Editor of the Daily Worker and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and a charter member of the party. And during the time—during that summer and that fall the Daily Worker devoted endless space to the fight in Spain and we were under instructions—I served part time as assistant city editor among other jobs, and in that capacity I was instructed how to play certain stories, how to handle certain stories. I had been assigned, and also did quite a bit of interviewing myself, on stories that were halfway considered of rather major importance, and interviewed a number of people to work up sympathies for the Loyalists' cause, and also the Communists had a number of people coming back and forth from Spain in '37 and '38, quite prominent people whom I interviewed and quoted them at length along the line of the Daily Worker and the Communist Party Policy.

### Jerry O'Connell Identified as Communist

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall, or—that two members of Congress went to Spain and made some speeches there?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, I recall the occasion. I think we gave them—the "Daily Worker" when I say "we"—the "Daily Worker" gave them quite a bit of space. In fact, both Congressmen got a lot of space, anyhow.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall who the Congressmen were?

MR. RUSHMORE: Yes, John Bernard, Farmer-Labor, of Minnesota.

MR. HOUSTON: John Bernard, of Minnesota.

MR. RUSHMORE: And Jerry O'Connell, Democrat, of Montana.

MR. HOUSTON: Jerry O'Connell, Democrat, of Montana. Did you interview these two?

MR. RUSHMORE: The date, I think, was around November or fall of '37, as I recollect. I was assigned by Hathaway, Clarence Hathaway, the "Daily Worker" editor, to go out on the cutter and meet one of the big ships to interview Bernard and O'Connell. In New York the newspapermen go down to the bay and board the ship before it comes into port, so they have more time aboard.

Hathaway said that both of these boys are Party members, get them away from the other newspapermen after the regular interview is finished, and tell them that I sent you in to ask them certain questions. The questions dealt with particular policies that were being played up in the "Daily Worker" in regard to Spain, at the time; and I did that and introduced myself, after the other reporters had finished, and talked to Bernard and O'Connell; and as I recollect, if I wrote the story or I turned in a report to Hathaway, I don't know, but it seems to me as if the interview appeared in the "Daily Worker" around that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you—at the time Clarence Hathaway told you both of these Congressmen were members of the Communist Party—

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: —he was editor of the "Daily Worker," and you were acting as City Editor, is that right?

MR. RUSHMORE: Assistant City Editor, among other things.

MR. HOUSTON: Among other things, assistant. And on his instructions that these two men were members of the Communist Party, you did proceed down and met the boat and interviewed them?

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you inform them that you were a member of the Communist Party, and that Hathaway had instructed you to get them aside, that he wanted some special questions?

MR. RUSHMORE: As I recollect, I worded it something like this: "I am Harold Rushmore of the 'Daily Worker' and Clarence asked that I see you." We used little terms like that. Instead of saying Clarence Hathaway, we would say Clarence or Earl, meaning Earl Browder. There was a chance you might be overheard, there might be a "mike," a microphone stuck somewhere, you see.

MR. HOUSTON: Was there any doubt in your mind that you were addressing members of the Communist Party?

MR. RUSHMORE: Of my own knowledge, I did not know them.

MR. HOUSTON: No, but after you had been furnished this information by Hathaway.

MR. RUSHMORE: On previous occasions, a number of times, Hathaway had told me on certain stories and interviews which I did, that so and so was a member of the Party, and I knew how to act accordingly, naturally.

MR. HOUSTON: Had he ever given you a bum steer?

MR. RUSHMORE: Never. Never.

MR. HOUSTON: And to the best of your knowledge and belief, was this steer correct this time?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, the reaction of the two Congressmen was, shall I say favorable, and you know, newspapermen sometimes when they want a certain quote which follows the policy of their paper, have a way of getting that quote. Well, I had no trouble with these two Congressmen. They quoted the line without any prodding, and I didn't have to throw an adjective around or a verb, to get the line across. They had it very well done, and my guess would be that they were well briefed by the GPU Commissars in Spain before their return.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, you were told by the editor of the "Daily Worker" that they were members of the Communist Party, and as such, would act a certain way.

MR. RUSHMORE: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: And you informed them and they did act that way.

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: As an expert witness, having been a member of the Communist Party, you believed that they were members of the Communist Party at that time?

MR. RUSHMORE: I had no reason to doubt it whatsoever.

MR. HOUSTON: All right, that's—if you will proceed.

MR. RUSHMORE: I would like to point out to the Committee a couple of things that, on the basis of my experience, both as a Communist newspaper man and as a newspaperman investigating Communism for the past eight years.

### Morris Schappes Sent to Sing Sing

We had a hearing in New York in 1941-42, which I covered every day during that time, called the Rapp-Coudert investigation, that's Rapp dash Coudert, a state legislative body set up to investigate Communism in the New York schools. They called a witness by the name of Morris Schappes, that's S-c-h-a-p-p-e-s, a tutor at City College in New York, a public college in the—and asked him whether or not he had been a member of the Communist Party. Schappes said, yes, he had been a member of the Communist Party. Was he still a member? He said, no, he had resigned a few months before. He had quit paying dues, or something like that. I know that he said he was not in the Party any more.

Now, they thereupon asked him what professors he knew in City College were members of the Communist Party. He named two, one of whom was by that time, by the time Schappes testified, in private industry; the other of whom was dead; and Schappes said he was the chairman, and that constituted the entire Communist Party at City College. Whereupon the Committee called witnesses who had been in the Communist Party at City College, who named I think twenty or thirty Communist Party members at City College, including Morris Schappes.

Now, thereupon Morris Schappes was brought to trial for perjury and convicted and served, I think, two and one-half years in Sing Sing. This same Schappes who had said on the witness stand he was no longer a member of the Communist Party, after he left Sing Sing became State Educational Director of the Communist Party. I am not making any veiled inference here

regarding the testimony yesterday afternoon of Professor Polonius, as I like to call him. Professor, what is his name?

MR. HOUSTON: Ethel. Garland Ethel.

MR. RUSHMORE: Ethel. But it struck me as rather interesting that Professor Polonius, when he left the stand, received the typical applause that a comrade gets when he has defied a legislative committee. I am not saying that he is still a member of the Communist Party. I'm saying that if he isn't that he should rejoin them. He did a wonderful job for the Party yesterday.

### Professors as Espionage Agents of Russia

I also might point out to this Committee that professors in colleges—we won't go into the obligation they have toward their students, to the parents of students, to their own Government. I would like to touch on a little thing called espionage, and how a professor can become a tool of what I consider the most dangerous spy ring in the history of the world. This spy ring was set up back in 1943, in this country, by a man named Arthur Adams. Adams was born in Canada, in 1930 he went to Russia. By that time, Adams was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. He received careful training in Russia at various schools, including the Lenin Institute, and other special schools of sabotage, espionage; in other words, he had to get the "works." He came back in 1939, entered this country at that time, and was very quiet and unobtrusive. He was first picked up in 19— I think the early part of 1944 in Chicago. He was picked up in the following fashion:

A professor working on Manhattan project—as you know, that is the name of the atom bomb project—a professor working in the Chicago laboratory of the Manhattan project was seen handing a package to a stranger in a Chicago park. He was seen because the Military Intelligence had a "tail"—they call it a "tail" or a "trail"—on this professor for a number of weeks, suspecting his past Communist connections, even though he was a top-ranking scientist and was doing a good job at Manhattan project. So, when they saw this scientist hand this package to this stranger in the Chicago park, the two G-2 men, the Military Intelligence men, split up; one followed the scientist, one followed the stranger, tailed him to his Chicago hotel, and then they called the F. B. I.

The F. B. I., through methods of their own, obtained some of the contents of this stranger's room. They found in this room data on the atom bomb, which was rushed to Washington; General Groves and the Manhattan project leaders in Washington identified it as top-drawer secret material. This stranger was then identified by the F. B. I. as this Arthur Adams, to whom I have referred previously. The F. B. I. knew that they had located a very hot espionage ring and set up immediately a squad of two hundred picked agents, that is, F. B. I. agents, and called this squad the Comintern Apparatus. That's Comintern, abbreviation for Communist International. The Comintern Apparatus.

The scientist, the American scientist, who had given this Soviet spy this material, is named Clarence Hiskey, Hiskey. Hiskey is now a professor at Brooklyn Polytechnic in New York. After the F. B. I. picked up the trail of Adams, they discovered that this espionage ring had been set up for only one purpose, to steal the secrets of the atom bomb in this country. They found out that Steve Nelson, that's N-e-l-s-o-n, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, had been sent to the University of California in an attempt to buy information from certain professors there, certain sci-

entists engaged in atomic research. They also found that this spy ring included other professors, included certain Army and Navy personnel; that one of the main headquarters for operation was a jewelry store in—on Madison Avenue in New York, a jewelry store owned by a woman named Victoria Stone. They found that Hiskey's wife, the American scientist's, it was her address in Brooklyn, Marcia Hiskey, Marcia, that Marcia Hiskey was using her address as a—what they call a "mail drop"; in other words, a scientist at Los Alamos, whoever it might be, would send certain material to say, New Orleans. From there it would be sent in another envelope to Marcia Hiskey, who would then, in turn, relay it to Victoria Stone's jewelry shop. Victoria Stone would relay it to Arthur Adams, the top Soviet operator.

Adams maintained accounts in twelve New York banks, running into the six figures; he had—he stayed for a year at the Hotel Peter Cooper in New York, the register will show his name there, and the hotel personnel will also verify that for twenty-four hours a day the F. B. I. had a constant watch over Mr. Adams. The room next door to Mr. Adams was occupied by the F. B. I., a microphone was in the wall, a two-way mirror or photographic process was in effect.

### Must Not Antagonize Stalin!

After about a year and a half, the F. B. I. knew they had the case very well closed; they knew the members of the ring; they had the proof; and I have the utmost respect for the F. B. I. in the way it gets evidence.

J. Edgar Hoover, one of our most patriotic and I think most actively loyal Americans, asked for permission to arrest not only Mr. Adams, the Russian agent, but Professor Hiskey, Victoria Stone, Marcia Hiskey, Steve Nelson, and the other members of this spy ring. J. Edgar Hoover was turned down. The White House said that they didn't want to antagonize Stalin.

The problem was presented to the State Department, which has some authority in the arrest of an individual like Adams; the same answer came back from the State Department. I might point out that J. Edgar Hoover, whose ability and loyalty I would never question or no one can question, is a paid servant of Uncle Sam, probably underpaid. His boss is appointed politically, it's an appointive office, as you know, and to keep that job the person in charge of the Justice Department must follow the current line of the administration. **What I do know is, that former agents of the F. B. I. who were a member of the Comintern Apparatus squad, grew so desperate at the lack of action, at seeing the members of this spy ring roam free and at large on our streets and in our cities, that they resigned because they no longer could maintain their jobs knowing that these—these agents of Stalin, whether or not they were American or Russian, could not be arrested because of Washington politics.** I know one agent very well, who would night after night have the job of tailing Mr. Adams, the Russian spy, in and out of the Peter Cooper Hotel. I know of other agents who had the same job. I know of one agent who after six months of this very fruitless activity, of knowing that the arrests could have been made months before, one night, shall we say "blew his top," and in one small bit of poetic justice, slugged Mr. Adams and turned in a report saying that he bumped into Mr. Adams in the dark and knocked off his glasses, and that it was an unfortunate incident.

### Administration Handcuffs F. B. I.

I don't blame these F. B. I. agents for feeling that way, and I feel sorry for J. Edgar Hoover for being in a position of **having to take orders from an administration which deliberately shielded the most dangerous spy ring in the history of the world.** We don't know how much of this material obtained from the various professors and scientists on the Manhattan project got to Russia. The F. B. I. does know that on two occasions, Adams deposited a brief case with the Russian Consulate in New York. They know an American business man who served as Adams' go-between, who would pass on the information that Adams collected from all corners of the United States, to the Russian Consulate.

In some cases Gerhardt Eisler, that's G-e-r-h-a-r-d-t E-i-s-l-e-r, acted as a courier for Adams between New York or wherever Adams might be, and the Russian Embassy itself in Washington. The F. B. I. does not think that enough material, data, and information on our atomic bomb got to Russia to provide Russia with sufficient know-how to make the bomb, even if it had the material; **but the point is, that the F. B. I. had this weighty evidence, conclusive evidence, of the existence and of the procedure of this spy ring; that the White House and the State Department had seen this evidence, and still refused in 1945 to make any arrests.**

### Enemies Still at Large

At the present time, Victoria Stone, a very important member of this Soviet espionage ring, is running her jewelry store on Madison Avenue; the scientist, he is teaching at Brooklyn Polytechnic in Brooklyn; Steve Nelson is still doing his regular work for the National Committee of the Communist Party; and so are the rest of the personnel of this spy ring. Mr. Adams disappeared from the Peter Cooper, no one knows what happened to him; but if he were arrested, it is news, I know, in New York.

Now, Hiskey, a good scientist, a very top scientist, or he wouldn't have been on the Chicago Division of the Manhattan project, was, as I understand, a member of the Young Communist League, joining for some issue of either political, emotional, racial, or what I don't know, moving into the Communist Party, being watched by the Communists for trustworthiness, gradually drawn into espionage, and serving as probably the most important go-between between Stalin and this country, in stealing information on the atom bomb a year and a half before the bomb was dropped.

I think this shows how the Young Communists League of the Communist Party can serve as an instrument of a foreign power, and a very dangerous instrument. I think it shows how a professor can be gradually drawn into such a mill. I don't know the names of the other scientists who were part—members of this ring; I do know that there were others, but I have no information that I think is worthy of presentation as to their names.

**But, we have a dual situation here, of an American professor serving as a Russian spy, and of an administration afraid to arrest this man guilty of treason, if a man ever was, because at that time they did not want to antagonize Stalin. What their reason is today, I do not know.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if we could have a recess at this time. Is that agreeable to you, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, that's fine.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

### Professor Phillips Wants His Attorney

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you proceed?

MR. HOUSTON: Will Professor Herbert J. Phillips take the stand?

HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, after being first duly sworn, assumed the stand for examination.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now, Mr. Phillips, I understand you were represented by counsel, we will be happy to have your counsel attend you if you wish.

MR. PHILLIPS: Can you postpone my testimony until I do see him? I just came out on a plane, I haven't seen him. I don't know what's going on or anything. Can I postpone it until I do see him?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We had understood that your counsel was here. What is the wish of our—

MR. HOUSTON: Who is your counsel?

MR. PHILLIPS: Caughlan. John Caughlan.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You have not—

MR. HOUSTON: When did you—what time did you get in town, Mr. Phillips?

MR. PHILLIPS: I got in at eight o'clock this morning, by plane.

MR. HOUSTON: It's eleven. Have you attempted to see your counsel?

MR. PHILLIPS: No. No, I came right here, and you ushered me out here.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, haven't you been derelict in your duty if you have been here three hours and you want counsel, and you haven't called him?

MR. PHILLIPS: Well, maybe it was undue timidity. I—you brought me up here with three State Policemen, and I thought you just wanted me to stay here, so I stayed there in the chair.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will permit a reasonable time, if you can call another witness, for Mr. Caughlan to get here, if he feels that he needs him. We are not going to have the gentleman feel that we are being unfair to him. If he feels that his counsel sitting there will be of value to him, we will be very happy to arrange that, if there is no more than a reasonable delay.

MR. HOUSTON: I certainly accept the ruling of the Chairman of the Committee, but there certainly is a responsibility on the part of a witness that's been subpoenaed for a period of time that this man has, and his counsel was attempting to speak for him yesterday.

MR. PHILLIPS: I waive counsel. I don't need to have anybody do my thinking for me.

MR. HOUSTON: I'm certainly accepting the ruling, but I would like that the—you set a specific date when can he testify. Will it be noon, or—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, Mr. Phillips has stated that he waives the right of having his counsel here.

A VOICE: May I say a word?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you may not at this moment. If you have any information for this Committee, you may supply it to us during the recess, or in written form. We are not going to disrupt the hearing from the rear of the room.

MR. HOUSTON: I suggest that we attempt to arrange counsel so that he can be heard, if not immediately before noon, then immediately afterwards.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is a matter—I think Mr. Phillips should decide whether he—if he feels that he wishes to proceed here without his counsel; counsel is limited to merely advising you whether or not to answer. You may confer with him, but counsel will not be permitted to argue before the Committee. So, you may use your discretion. We will permit you to have a reasonable delay, if you wish.

MR. PHILLIPS: I suppose I ought to get the legal angles on it. I don't—I have never been—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would rather at this time that you have no questions in your mind about your rights before this Committee, and you may step aside until—what time would you say, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: If possible, I would like to put him on at about ten minutes to twelve, or twelve; and if not, at two o'clock sharp this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I suggest, then, that you immediately get in touch with your attorney and be prepared to be here before noon if you can get in touch with him. If not,—whether you reach him or not, we will expect you here definitely at two o'clock.

MR. PHILLIPS: All right.

(Witness temporarily excused)

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. KATHRYN FOGG Former Legislator

KATHRYN FOGG, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Fogg, as you testify it is being recorded and it is also being sent downstairs to another room where they have a loudspeaker so will you please answer audibly and not by motion, and will you try to speak into the two microphones in front of you, and if we have any unusual names or new names will you spell them for us.

Now will you please state your name.

MRS. FOGG: My name is Kathryn Fogg.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the city of Seattle?

MRS. FOGG: I am, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have lived in Seattle for a number of years?

MRS. FOGG: 25 to be exact.

MR. HOUSTON: 25 years. Mrs. Fogg, I will ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: I have, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall about when you joined the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: The last few months of—the last month or so of Janu—of December, or November of '37, or the first part of January, February, those months of '38.

MR. HOUSTON: 1938.

MRS. FOGG: I can't say the exact date or month.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you are a housewife.

MRS. FOGG: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: —occupation. You at one time served a term in the legislature in the state of Washington?

MRS. FOGG: I did, in 1939.

MR. HOUSTON: In 1939 you served in the legislature.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, as a member of the Communist Party you attained some prominence in the party, did you not?

MRS. FOGG: Supposedly, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Fact of the matter you attended a convention—the national convention of the Communist Party in New York City, did you not?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you performed many services for them here in the state of Washington, in a way of speaking, did you not?

MRS. FOGG: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And as such you spoke before many meetings and groups and much Communist information came into your possession, did it not?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you also, from time to time, sat in different meetings, didn't you?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

## Professor Butterworth and Earl Browder

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Joe Butterworth?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever sat in any Communist Party meetings with Joe Butterworth?

MRS. FOGG: I have been in—I was in about three meetings in Mr. Butterworth's home, one when Earl Browder was there.

MR. HOUSTON: You attended the meeting that—this hush-hush meeting where the leaders of the party met and conferred with Earl Browder?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And that was in the home of Joe Butterworth?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you attended two other Party meetings.

MRS. FOGG: Those were meetings dealing with the women in activities in the Party. Mrs. Butterworth was also a very active Party member and very active in the Commonwealth Federation.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you—what—do you know what Mr. Butterworth's occupation was at that time?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, he was a teacher at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what his occupation is today?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, he is a professor at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Still a professor at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Did Mr. Butterworth appear to be active in the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, he wasn't as active at that time as he probably became later because he was more active in front organizations later.

MR. HOUSTON: More active in front organizations later?

MRS. FOGG: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: But he was sufficiently active that this important meeting was scheduled and held in his home where Earl Browder, who was then head of the Communist Party, appeared and conferred with the members, is that right?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Mr. Butterworth attend any of the county conventions of the Communist Party that you recall?

MRS. FOGG: I think he did, the county convention—I'm not absolutely positive, but I—I have thought about it a great deal and I think maybe that he was there at that meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Now was that the 1938 convention or the '39 one, do you recall?

MRS. FOGG: '38.

MR. HOUSTON: The 1938.

MR. HOUSTON: Did information come to you in your capacity as one trusted and high in the party that Professor Butterworth was a member of the party?

MRS. FOGG: Oh, that was an accepted fact, yes.



MR. HOUSTON: It was an accepted fact.

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

### **Names Professor Harold Eby as a Communist**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Harold Eby?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you tell me how you happened to know Mr. Eby and the circumstances—

MRS. FOGG: Yes, he was—we were—

MR. HOUSTON: Will you speak just a little louder, please?

MRS. FOGG: We were very active in the Commonwealth Federation and he was on the Executive Board of the Commonwealth Federation. We attended meetings and policy forming meetings for the Federation; Howard Costigan, Hugh DeLacy, Bill Dobbins, Harold Eby, John Caughlan. I can't think of any more at the present time.

MR. HOUSTON: These were all members of the Communist Party of your knowledge?

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And they were here and meeting as a fraction or a group to control the policies of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, is that right?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And in this capacity, Mr. Eby functioned and worked there with you?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you answer a little louder please.

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know what the occupation of Mr. Eby was at that time?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, he was a teacher at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what his occupation is today?

MRS. FOGG: I presume that he is still at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Still a teacher. This is Professor Harold Eby that you have reference to?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you ever have occasion to visit the county office of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, on a few occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, have you ever seen Harold Eby in the county headquarters of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: On more than one occasion?

MRS. FOGG: I think there were two occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: Two occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he appear to be there on Communist Party business?

MRS. FOGG: We were in the midst of a campaign. A number of us were there because of the activities of the campaign. I think it was Hugh DeLacy's campaign.

MR. HOUSTON: And you were there as Communists?

MRS. FOGG: I wasn't meeting with Mr. Eby—

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, you weren't to meet him there?

MRS. FOGG: No, I—there—we were other groups or a number of people there this one particular meeting that I remember. As I remember it there were a group of us from the different district headquarters came into the office and, who sort of being cased I guess it would be called, on the accomplishments in the districts—different districts in the campaign. And that was my—the one particular incident that I remember.

MR. HOUSTON: Did Harold Eby appear to have some authority in Communist Party circles, appear to be up in the party?

MRS. FOGG: Well, in the Commonwealth Federation, as a member of the executive board, he was greatly respected by all of the leaders in the Commonwealth Federation.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, he was functioning there with the Communist faction which I believe you testified previously controlled the Commonwealth Federation.

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Lenna Eby?

MRS. FOGG: By sight only.

MR. HOUSTON: By sight.

MR. HOUSTON: And where did you see her?

MRS. FOGG: I saw her at the same time that I mentioned to have seen Mr. Eby leaving the headquarters.

MR. HOUSTON: She was in the headquarters of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: I asked who she was and was told who she was. I don't know her.

### **Identifies Ralph Gundlach**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Ralph Gundlach?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And how do you know—what is the occasion of your knowing Mr. Gundlach?

MRS. FOGG: Well, he spoke before many meetings that I attended and well—I don't recall just the exact meetings but they were Communist front meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: Communist front meetings.

MRS. FOGG: Right.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Gundlach a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: I never attended a meeting with him or even a closed meeting. I just assumed that he was because he was accepted by the leadership of the Commonwealth Federation as one of the good fellows.

MR. HOUSTON: He was accepted by the leadership of the Communist Party too? Did they accept him also?

MRS. FOGG: Well, we were—the people I am discussing were the people who were all Communists the ones that I am thinking of in the leadership of—

MR. HOUSTON: And he just worked right along with you—

MRS. FOGG: So far as speaking and speeches—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, I see what you are driving at, correct me if I'm wrong. In effect you are saying that the leadership of the Commonwealth Federation was all Communist.

MRS. FOGG: Most of them were at that particular time, they controlled—there were people that were not Communist who on the W.C.F., I mean on the Executive Board and hundreds of memberships that were never—that were not Communists.

MR. HOUSTON: That's true but this group that you're talking about that worked and sat in these meetings, they were Communists?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And Ralph Gundlach was one of those.

### **Attends Communist School Taught by Professor's Wife**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of Melville Jacobs?

MRS. FOGG: I'll—I have heard him speak and I ne—I only—I don't think I ever met him personally. I have heard him speak a number of times and he is a very excellent speaker.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you mentioned that you have heard Melville Jacobs speak.

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion of his speech? Do you recall?

MRS. FOGG: I can't remember the exact meetings I heard him speak. I've heard him speak in the last year at a meeting or a luncheon. He made an excellent speech. It had nothing to do with Communism, of course, because it was a political meeting of one of the major parties.

MR. HOUSTON: Did these early speeches that you heard him make back when you were a member of the party were they—did they have something to do with Communism?

MRS. FOGG: No, I don't remember that they did, I only th—feeling that I had about it was that they were all right in my—I thought he was a very good speaker and—I don't remember the subject.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you form an opinion in your functions as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Well, I assumed he was because I knew his wife as a Communist but I never knew him as one.

MR. HOUSTON: But you did know his wife as a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: You have reference now to Elizabeth D. Jacobs commonly known as Bess.

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you knew personally that she was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend any of the Communist schools or classes on Marxism?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And who taught some of these classes on Marxism?

MRS. FOGG: Mrs. Jacobs—

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Jacobs.

MRS. FOGG: —had charge of the classes.

MR. HOUSTON: This was a Communist school and no one went there but Communists?

MRS. FOGG: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: And she was a teacher—

MRS. FOGG: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: —at the Communist school.

MR. HOUSTON: When was this? Can you affix the time, approximately?

MRS. FOGG: I imagine it was in '38.

MR. HOUSTON: 1938. Do you recall where it was, about?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, it was in I.O.G.T. Hall.

MR. HOUSTON: I.O.G.T. Hall.

MRS. FOGG: I think it's—I don't know what the name is.

MR. HOUSTON: About how long did this class last?

MRS. FOGG: About a week.

### **Burton and Florence B. James Active in Communist Front Organizations**

MR. HOUSTON: Now do you know Burton James?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And how do you know Burton James?

MRS. FOGG: As a person that's wro—from the Repertory Playhouse, of course, and a person who spoke at many of the meetings in the League Against War and Fascism and many other organizations that were active at that time, counting our Federation.

MR. HOUSTON: He was active in the front organizations?

MRS. FOGG: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Burton James a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: I never attended a meeting with him but I assumed that he was—he was accepted by people in the W.C.F.

MR. HOUSTON: He was accepted as a Communist—did you accept him as a Communist?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, in my mind I did, but I have no proof that he was.

MR. HOUSTON: But he was working in the same program that the rest of the Communists were?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, along the same line the rest of us were.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Florence Bean James?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you form any opinion as to whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, in the same manner as Mr. James.

MR. HOUSTON: She was just going right along with the Communist Party program—

MRS. FOGG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: —the Party Line at that time?

MRS. FOGG: That is right.

**Repertory Playhouse an Arm of the Communist Party**

MR. HOUSTON: How did the Communists look upon the Repertory Playhouse?

MRS. FOGG: Well, it was considered just a part of the activities, in my own opinion from the discussions that we've always had. I attended some of these plays and so on. I felt that it was—well—at one time, when I was first in the Party, I thought that a lot of these things were just the "right thing" and then I began to discover that it was part of the Program and I at first didn't include the Repertory Playhouse, but over a period of months, though, I discovered that it was part of the Program.

MR. HOUSTON: Practically an arm of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Mary Jo Lawrence—Mary Jo James Lawrence?

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And how did you know her?

MRS. FOGG: She attended the school that I did.

MR. HOUSTON: She attended the school that you did—

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —and this was that Communist school—

MRS. FOGG: In the I.O.G.T.

MR. HOUSTON: In the I.O.G.T. taught by the wife of Professor Jacobs. Now who is Mary Jo James Lawrence?

MRS. FOGG: She is the—Professor James and Mrs. James' daughter.

MR. HOUSTON: She's the daughter of—

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —Burton James—

MRS. FOGG: That's right.

**Professor Rader a Fellow Traveler**

MR. HOUSTON: —and Florence Bean James. Now, do you know a man by the name of Melvin Rader?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Rader active in any of these front organizations?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, I remember his having spoke a number of times on different groups—The League Against War and Fascism and there was—we had a study group, I think. We, because I was a part of it. That was of the women's group and I remember he reviewed one of his books. I don't recall the title. It had something to do with war and Fascism. I'm sorry I don't remember the title.

MR. HOUSTON: Was this a unit of the American League Against War and Fascism that he—

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —reviewed this before?

MRS. FOGG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you class Mr. Rader as a "Fellow Traveler" of the Communist Party?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, that I would. Not a Communist, however.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't think he's a Communist then.

MRS. FOGG: No, I have no feeling that he was.

MR. HOUSTON: But he carried out the Communist Party Line?

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer a little more distinctly please because of the recording—

MRS. FOGG: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —device.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe that's all I have for this witness and I ask that this witness be excused. She's had to leave her work and come here at quite some sacrifice. Thank you, Mrs. Fogg.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you Mrs. Fogg, you may be excused.  
(Witness Excused)

**Nat Honig, American Representative to Red International Labor Union**

JOHN W. WHIPPLE, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You are Mr. Whipple who was sworn and read a deposition yesterday, are you not, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have another document to present into the record at this time?

MR. WHIPPLE: I do have.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you present this document?

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to present at this time the affidavit of Nat Honig.

Nat Honig testified at a previous hearing. He's at the present time employed in California, and the nature of his work is such that he could not attend this hearing, nor did we have subpoena power to subpoena him here.

I'd like now to read the affidavit of Nat Honig.

"STATE OF CALIFORNIA  
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES } ss.

Nat Honig, of lawful age, being first duly sworn on oath, says:

'My name is Nat Honig, and I reside at 3219 Budeau Avenue, Los Angeles 32, California. I was born in the State of New York and was a member of the Communist Party for a period of twelve years, having joined in 1927 and left the Communist Party completely in 1939. I joined the Communist Party in Jersey City, New Jersey, and I believe three months after I joined the Communist Party, which I think was in December of 1927, I joined the staff of the Daily Worker, which was as it is now, the principal newspaper and news medium of the Communist Party. The Daily Worker was an organ of the Communist Party, and I was a full time employe when I worked for the Daily Worker at their address on Union Square and later at 50 East 13th Street, New York City. I worked for the Daily Worker until March of 1930 when I was assigned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to become editor of a weekly newspaper called Labor Unity. It was the official organ of the Trade Union Unity League, the same being a trade union front for the Communist Party. I was editor of the Labor Unity until April, 1934, when I was approached by an agent of the Comintern by the name of Merker,

who used the name of Wagner, whom I had met at Communist Party functions on many occasions during the year 1933-1934. He approached me in January, of 1934, and asked me to go to Moscow, Russia, on behalf of the party. He was in this country for the purpose of seeing the instructions of the Comintern were carried out and that American members of the Communist Party followed his instructions. The Central Committee of the Communist Party made the arrangements for me to go to Moscow, and I went over there with a man by the name of William Schneidermann, District Secretary of the Communist Party of California. **He was going over there as an American representative of the Comintern, and I was going over for the purpose of being the equivalent at the Red International Labor Union.**

'For a short time after I went to Moscow I was what they call a referant from the American party to the Red International of Labor Unions; in other words, sort of a junior representative for I was later named as a regular American representative from the American party to the Red International of Labor Unions, and I was then the highest authority in Moscow from America representing the Communist Party and the trade union movement in America. There were similar representatives from scores of other countries there also, all pertaining to the labor movement work, which was being directed from Moscow. **There is one Communist Party in the world and only one, and that is the World Communist Party, and it is only a myth if they try to tell the American people that the Communist Party of the United States has no connection with the Communist Party of Russia.**

### Managing Editor of Communist Paper

'I worked in Russia until the fall of 1935 and returned in November of that year and had as a traveling companion Mr. William Z. Foster. I was assigned then to do some work in the district headquarters of the Communist Party in New York where I worked for some five to six weeks, and then the party sent me out to San Francisco as **managing editor of Western Worker, which at that time was the Pacific coast organ of the Communist Party. It took in Seattle as well as San Francisco. That same paper is now known as the People's World and is a daily paper.**

'Then about August of 1937 I was transferred to Seattle, Washington, to become editor of the Timber Worker, and while in that capacity I at first got the paper out in the office of Morris Rapport, District Secretary of the Communist Party for the Northwest whose office was in Seattle. Shortly after coming to Seattle I was made educational director for the Northwest district of the Communist Party. That took in the States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. My duties were such that I worked very closely with Mr. Rapport as our official functions covered approximately the same area. As educational director or "agit prop" as it is sometimes referred to, it was necessary for me to go about to different unit and fraction meetings of the Communist Party. Also to confer with Communist Party workers at Mr. Rapport's office. In fact, I attended many different unit meetings of the Communist Party. And as a result I met and became acquainted with many of the leading Communists of the Seattle, Washington, area.

### Knew Seven Professors and Three Officials of Repertory Playhouse as Communists

'As an illustration I know that there was a unit of the Communist Party operating in which a number of University of Washington instructors and

employees attended. **I remember that in September of 1937 I attended a Communist Party meeting held at the home of Professor Melville Jacobs whom I understand is still a professor at the University. I have seen Professors Joseph Butterworth, Harold Eby, H. J. "Scoop" Phillips in the office of Morris Rapport, district organizer of the Communist Party, in the Empire Building in Seattle, at which Communist Party business was discussed and at which discussions I would from time to time participate. This business was of such a nature that it would not have been discussed in their presence had they not been members of the Communist Party.**

'By reason of using the office with Morris Rapport and conducting the business of the Communist Party so far as the newspaper I was editing was concerned, I had discussions with the officers of the Communist Party at that time and had official knowledge of the fact that **Professors Garland Ethel, Joseph Cohen, and Ralph Gundlach were members of the Communist Party, and discussions of their membership and assignments were held before me and in their presence from time to time. I also had the same knowledge of the Communist Party membership of Florence Bean James and Burton James and Al Ottenheimer, now of the Repertory Playhouse. Their Communist Party membership was officially discussed at Communist Party headquarters and was discussed in such a manner that there was left no room for doubt concerning their membership in the Communist Party.**

'I left the Communist Party in the latter part of 1939 and have had nothing to do with their activities since that date.

'I have read the above affidavit consisting of three pages, and thoroughly understand the matters and things contained therein. These statements are made by me of my own free will and accord, without promise of remuneration or reward of any nature and without duress or threat of violence.'

Signed, Nat Honig

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 14th day of July, 1948 by one H. V. DeLong, Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California."

### Chairman Canwell Instructs Professor Phillips and John Caughlan

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Phillips is now here with counsel, is that correct?

PROFESSOR HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you be seated, Mr. Caughlan?

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Chairman, may I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you be seated, and we will give you some instructions here, and we will expect you to comply. If you are unwilling to comply with the procedure of this hearing, then we will dispense with your presence.

Mr. Phillips was sworn, I believe.

MR. HOUSTON: I would prefer that he be sworn.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will do that in a moment.

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: Now, before being sworn, there are certain legal objections to my appearing here that I would like to have—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be sworn, or refuse to be sworn, and that's the way we will do it.

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Chairman—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Caughlan, will you be seated, and we—

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I be—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —we will tell you what you can do.

MR. CAUGHLAN: —advised of the procedure, because I want to know.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be advised of the procedure after this man is sworn.

PROFESSOR HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, having again been sworn, assumed the stand for examination and testified as follows:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The procedure followed here will be that you may freely counsel with your attorney, quietly. There will be no speeches made in this hearing room by counsel for any witness. We will expect you to respond to the questions of the Committee, and we will consider any refusal to do so, to respond to those questions, as a refusal to testify; and we want you to please be advised accordingly, and with that understanding that your position with your counsel here is that you may counsel with him as to whether or not to answer, but we are not interested in any speeches or declarations. We merely want the answers to certain questions which this Committee feels we are authorized to ask. Those questions will be, in our opinion, proper and you will be given opportunity to respond to those questions and only those questions.

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: May I ask a question? May I be allowed to elaborate on my answers, as the previous witnesses have been allowed to?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will let you within reasonable bounds, respond to the questions of the Committee, but first you must answer directly, the questions which we have reasons for asking.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I make inquiry as to procedure?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

MR. CAUGHLAN: All right. I want, first, to inquire whether certain legal objections to Mr. Phillips' appearance here may be stated to the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No statements as to objections concerning his appearance here will be accepted, and any position you have here will be merely as a counselor to your client and not to the hearing or to the audience.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May he—my second inquiry is may Mr. Phillips then at the outset of this inquiry, state his legal objections to his appearance here, before being required to testify?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, he will not. We are not going to debate the issue of the legality of this Committee or its processes. That may be done elsewhere; and at present, you will be confined to the instructions given, and from here on in we will expect you to comply precisely with those instructions. Now, if you will be seated, we will proceed with the hearing.

MR. CAUGHLAN: I have a third question to ask.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will ask no more questions. We are not going to go on with any ridiculous procedure here. You will either comply with the instructions of the Committee or you will be removed. Now, let's understand that for good. Are you going to comply? You are going to comply with the procedure here, or you are not going to be here.

MR. CAUGHLAN: I haven't even had a chance to talk with him.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may advise him as—whether or not to answer, and that is all you may advise him in this hearing. Now, with that understanding, we will proceed; otherwise, you will be removed.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I advise with him right now?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, and quietly.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Phillips, as you answer questions, that you answer audibly and not with a nod or a gesture, as the proceedings are being recorded. I will also ask you if, for the record's sake, when you come to an unusual name that you be kind enough to spell it, if you will.

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: May I make the statement that I am making these replies all on my own, that I haven't had time to have thorough consultation with counsel, so I'm not making my replies on advice of counsel.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Okeh, go ahead.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you wish to advise further with your counsel before testifying?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you feel it's—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I think we will proceed.

### Professor Phillips Refuses to Answer

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: Herbert J. Phillips.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are you a resident?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: Seattle, Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: My last residence is eighteen years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Phillips?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: Teacher at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: What university?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you taught at the University of Washington?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: The same number of years, eighteen years, the last session. I taught there for eighteen years this last session.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Phillips?

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: Rapid City, South Dakota. November 14, 1891.

MR. HOUSTON: **Mr. Phillips, I will ask you if you are, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party.**

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: **For conscience—conscience sake, and political sake, I refuse to answer the question.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Put the question to Mr. Phillips again.

I wish to advise you, too, Mr. Phillips, that your failure to respond, to answer this question, will be considered by the Committee a refusal to testify, and will be the termination of your testimony before this Committee.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I state—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you may—you may speak to your client quietly, but you may state nothing for the hearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Phillips, I will ask you if you are, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party.

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: I must say that in light of the testimony that has previously been given, that I would regard it a violation of my principles, a violation of what I regard to be the most sacred—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, . . . is attempting to make a speech, and not responsive, and that he be instructed to answer the question "yes" or "no."

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will place—I will place the question, with the instruction that it may be answered by "yes" or "no," and I wish to advise you that on your failure to respond to the question of this Committee, that we will take proceedings to have you punished for contempt of the Legislature, in refusing to answer that question.

Now, I will ask you, Mr. Phillips, if you have, if you are or have ever been, a member of the Communist Party.

PROFESSOR PHILLIPS: I will not answer that question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Step aside.

MR. CAUGHLAN: May I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You aren't saying anything in here, and you may proceed directly from the hearing room. Now, we do not care to go into this question of the witness' contempt under your instructions.

Now, if you will remove yourself from the room, you will save us the trouble.

You have no client on the stand now. We will hold you in contempt in a moment, if you continue your obstinate attitude.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, we have a—we have a very heavy schedule this afternoon, and I would suggest, if it meets with the approval of the Committee, that we recess now for lunch, and that we convene promptly at two o'clock.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until two o'clock this afternoon.

(Noon Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF HOMER HUSON

### Former State Secretary, Old Age Pension Union

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Huson, will you take the witness stand, please?

HOMER HUSON, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Huson, I think you were not here this morning, and in answering the questions, they are being recorded and will you speak directly into the microphones and answer your questions audibly rather than with gesture in order that we can get them down.

MR. HUSON: I will.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state your name, please.

MR. HUSON: Homer Huson.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where do you live, Mr. Huson?

MR. HUSON: 6024—my address at the present time is 151 21st Avenue.

MR. WHIPPLE: Seattle?

MR. HUSON: Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long have you lived in the state of Washington?

MR. HUSON: I was born in Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Huson, what former connection, if any, did you have with the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

MR. HUSON: I was the Executive Secretary and also the Vice-president from '37 to '39.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Huson, I'll ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. HUSON: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: As a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Huson, I'll ask if you ever had occasion to sit in any of the fraction meetings of the Communist Party where other Communist Party members met from different organizations.

MR. HUSON: Many.

MR. WHIPPLE: How often would you meet in those fraction meetings over the years that you have represented?

MR. HUSON: I'm—couldn't count the number of times, they are too numerous.

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, as often as once every two weeks, one week, or how often?

MR. HUSON: I would say on an average of maybe twice a week.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, do you have reference to fraction meetings at which Communist Party members were in attendance?

MR. HUSON: Only.

MR. WHIPPLE: Only Communist Party members were in attendance. Thank you sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, did you ever attend any fraction meetings of the Communist Party where there were any professors of the University of Washington present?

MR. HUSON: Nu—on numerous occasions we have met—I might begin by saying as being the Executive Secretary of the Pension Union we had a speaker's bureau in which that we sent to each of our local speakers to speak before the locals. Now, the W.C.F. at that time didn't have a speaker's bureau so they set up a speaker's bureau and the blitz was on and—and when the Communist Party took over the Pension Union it was only their speakers that could come before our locals and from the W.C.F. were speakers and in that group, as I recall, there was one or two from the University of Washington.

#### Identifies Professor Eby and His Wife as Communists

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, were those persons there representing the Communist Party in those fraction meetings?

MR. HUSON: They were representing the Communist Party in the fraction meetings but before the locals they were speaking also for the Communist Party but to the public.

MR. WHIPPLE: I realize that. Now, then, what University professor, if any, do you refer to?

MR. HUSON: Well, one in particular, was Harold Eby.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, what position did Mr. Eby hold at that time, if you remember.

MR. HUSON: He was on the speaker's bureaus for the W.C.F. at that particular time.

MR. WHIPPLE: I have more references to what position or occupation that he had, to make a living, do you know, who he was employed by?

MR. HUSON: At that time I don't know. I can't recall. I don't know just what work he was doing whether he was a professor at that time or not.

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, is that the same Professor Harold Eby who is now a professor at the University of Washington?

MR. HUSON: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you know his wife, Lenna Eby?

MR. HUSON: Yes, but not by that name. She also had sat in on meetings with us.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, you say she also sat in on meetings, now do you mean top fraction Communist Party meetings?

MR. HUSON: Communist Party members only.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, what name did you know her by when she sat in those top fraction Communist Party meetings, if you remember?

MR. HUSON: I don't remember her first name, but it was James. I—I don't recall her first name.

MR. WHIPPLE: I'll ask you if the name Grace James means anything to you?

MR. HUSON: Sounds very familiar.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was that the name by which she went—

MR. HUSON: Yes. At that time she went by—

MR. WHIPPLE: —in Communist Party circles?

MR. HUSON: It seems like—I don't recall whether she went by that name, but I know that that was her name; but she went by "Gracie," I think, or some short name.

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, anyway, the person you refer to, is that the present Mrs. Lenna Eby?

MR. HUSON: Yes, to my understanding, it is.

MR. WHIPPLE: Then these fraction meetings of the Communist Party in which Harold Eby sat, would there have been anyone possible present there other than Communists?

MR. HUSON: Couldn't have been because of the policy of the Communist Party.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Huson. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mr. Huson and will you want this witness again?

MR. WHIPPLE: I think not, he can be excused.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: You have another affidavit to read, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: Deposition, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Deposition. Will you state the circumstances of why you have a deposition instead of the witness.

MR. WHIPPLE: Dr. Ellwood C. Nance who is at the present time the president of Miami University—I mean of Tampa University at Tampa, Florida, and sometime ago was in the city of Seattle. It was impossible to have him present here at this meeting today and for that reason his deposition was taken.



## DEPOSITION OF DR. ELWOOD C. NANCE President of University of Tampa

STATE OF WASHINGTON }  
COUNTY OF KING } ss.

"The witness, Ellwood C. Nance, being first duly sworn on oath, testifies as follows:

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you please identify yourself.

DR. NANCE: My name is Ellwood C. Nance. I am President of the University of Tampa and I live in Tampa, Florida.

MR. WHIPPLE: When did you become President of the University of Tampa?

DR. NANCE: May 8, 1945.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is your presence in Seattle at this particular time permanent or temporary?

DR. NANCE: Only temporary. I'll be here but for a few days.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you be available to testify in person before the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee at its forthcoming hearing on July 19, 1948?

DR. NANCE: No, I will not, as it is imperative that I be back in Tampa, Florida before that time.

MR. WHIPPLE: Dr. Nance, did you ever live in Seattle, Washington?

DR. NANCE: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: When did you live in Seattle, Washington, and what were your duties at that time?

DR. NANCE: I was pastor of the First Christian Church in Seattle during the years 1937-1938 and 1939.

### Withdrew From Communist Front Organization

MR. WHIPPLE: During the time you resided in Seattle did you have occasion to become identified with an organization existing in Seattle known as the American Northwest District of the League for Peace and Democracy?

DR. NANCE: Yes, sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was that the same organization of which N. P. Atkinson was formerly the President?

DR. NANCE: Yes, it was.

MR. WHIPPLE: What first interested you in this organization?

DR. NANCE: A personal call by N. P. Atkinson who described the League for Peace and Democracy as an organization of liberal-minded men and women who were working for world peace, freedom and democracy and against un-American movements in this country.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long did you maintain membership in this organization?

DR. NANCE: For about six months I was a sponsor of the League, and attended three or four meetings.

MR. WHIPPLE: During the time you were a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, what evidence, if any, did you note of its being infiltrated with Communists?

DR. NANCE: There was an accumulation of evidence.

1. I noticed in the meetings I attended that **Russia was praised as an example of "real democracy."** While other dictators who then flourished in the world were roundly and consistently condemned, the Russian dictator, Stalin, and the Communist Government of Russia were not only spared of blame but praised. I asked Mr. Atkinson the reason for this attitude and he said Germany and Italy were the chief threats to the world, and that we had more in common with Russia than we had with Germany and Italy.
2. In the League meetings I attended there was vehement condemnation of Hitler's maltreatment of minority groups, **but never any criticism of Stalin's persecution of the priests, churches and political minorities in Russia.**
3. Another matter which made me suspect the leaders and program of the local organization of the League for Peace and Democracy was the program of another Communist front organization called The League Against War and Fascism, which was enthusiastically defended by Mr. Atkinson at that time. **At least two of the purposes of that organization were in harmony with the Communist Party line.** The League Against War and Fascism joined both the Communists and the Pro-Hitler groups to oppose any plan of universal draft, regimentation or government control of capital and industry in case of war.
4. The League Against War and Fascism opposed the incorporation of Labor Unions.
5. The League for Peace and Democracy also bitterly opposed the aims of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities.
6. Shortly before I withdrew from the League for Peace and Democracy I learned about, and borrowed, a report of some 50 single-spaced typewritten pages on the activities of the Communist Party in the Northwest. This report was very revealing. The organizations and man who sponsored the investigations encompassed in this report were trustworthy, realistic, factual and patriotic. **This report told of the relationship of the Communist Party to such organizations as The League for Peace and Democracy, the Commonwealth Party and the Friends of Spain.**
7. Shortly before I withdrew from the League for Peace and Democracy a King County Convention of the Communist Party was held in Seattle and the "comrades" were urged to "get a more complete control in the Seattle Central Labor Council; officially participate in all peace meetings held in the country; recruit in the YMCA, YWCA, and among the Young Democrats and Teamsters." And at the same meeting it was urged that the Communists give further support to the American League for Peace and Democracy. **It was urged that at least "25 percent of the members join the American League for Peace and Democracy," and "concentrate on recruiting among the Jews, Scandinavian, Oriental and Slavic groups in Seattle, and establish shop units at the Post Intelligencer and the Seattle Times."**

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you later withdraw your affiliation with this organization?

DR. NANCE: I certainly and definitely did.

MR. WHIPPLE: What prompted you to withdraw your support from the American League for Peace and Democracy?

DR. NANCE: The evidence that I have already given and the further evidence of its leader's sympathy with the Communists. **In several personal conferences in my study at First Christian Church, when I questioned Mr. Atkinson about his sympathies with the Communists, Mr. Atkinson repeatedly declared that he saw no reason for public disapproval of Communism on the part of the League for Peace and Democracy, and that he would gladly accept all the Communist votes he could get. Mr. Atkinson was at that time asking for office in the State Senate. He wanted me to get my congregation behind him and I told him I would let him address my congregation if he would publicly declare himself opposed to Communism. He thought such a public declaration against Communism would be "stupid politics."**

### Interviews Earl Browder

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever have an occasion to interview Earl Browder, the then head of the Communist Party of the United States.

DR. NANCE: Yes, sir, I did.

MR. WHIPPLE: When and where was this interview held?

DR. NANCE: It was held at the Hillsborough Hotel in the City of Tampa, sometime on the 16th of September, 1936, about eight months before I came to Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: What prompted you to have this interview with Browder in the first place?

DR. NANCE: In the first place, I always have a hungry mind. My whole life has been a quest for knowledge, wisdom and light. I don't mean to say that I am bookish or that I am a great scholar, but I will travel far, and spend much, to obtain new and useful first-hand information. This could have been one of my reasons for wanting to meet Mr. Browder.

But I had already read some of the literature of the Communist Party, and had talked to members of the Communist Party. I have always believed that Communism is an enemy of real democracy and everything I have read or heard from Communist leaders has confirmed this conviction.

Mr. Browder came to Tampa to speak. I wanted to hear what he had to say. His public meeting was broken up by some over-zealous citizens. Many citizens of Tampa, including some of the ministers, disapproved of the mob-psychology which made it impossible for Mr. Browder to make his speech. I was at that time Pastor of the First Christian Church of Tampa and President of the Tampa Ministers' Association. I heard that Mr. Browder would speak to one of the Labor Temples of Ybor City—the Spanish speaking section of Tampa. Another minister, Dr. Metcalf, and I, decided to call Mr. Browder and offer to take him to his meeting and bring him back to his hotel.

We met Mr. Browder in his room at the Hillsborough Hotel of Tampa, and talked with him an hour or so before he left for the Labor Temple in Ybor City. Both of us asked Mr. Browder many questions about Communism and how it would function in America.

To all of our questions Mr. Browder gave a thoughtful and frank answer. His manner was calm and serious.

We took Mr. Browder in my car to the Labor Temple in Ybor City. He did not speak; and after a brief visit with some of the Party members we brought him back to his hotel. Dr. Metcalf went home and I stayed to ask Mr. Browder some more questions.

MR. WHIPPLE: Who was present at the time of your interview?

DR. NANCE: Dr. Walter Metcalf, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, the Florida State Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. Browder, and I were present at the first part of the interview, and only the State Secretary, Mr. Browder and I were present at the second part of the interview.

MR. WHIPPLE: Based on the interview you had with Browder, **what position did he take relative to our democratic form of government?**

DR. NANCE: **I remember particularly that he said, "We strive for the abolition of the present so-called democratic form of government."**

MR. WHIPPLE: What did he refer to when he used the expression "we"?

DR. NANCE: He had reference to the Communist Party of the United States.

MR. WHIPPLE: **What, if anything, did he say the Communist Party proposed to substitute for our democratic form of government?**

DR. NANCE: **He said they would place in its stead "a classless society controlled by The Communist Party" and that such a system would be based on a materialistic philosophy of life. He said though he came from a religious home, religion had no place in the Communist scheme of things.**

MR. WHIPPLE: What did he mean by "classless society"?

DR. NANCE: He meant, so he said, the abolition of all organizations, labor unions, trade organizations, fraternal organizations, church and social organizations, **and all concept of organization that did not serve the purpose of the Communist Party or that made it possible for any form of class distinction, racial or otherwise.**

MR. WHIPPLE: What did he have reference to when he said the system the Communist Party proposed would be "based on an atheistic philosophy of life"?

DR. NANCE: He explained Communism as a system that would be based on a materialistic concept of life; **a system that left no room for loyalty to belief in God or the teachings of Christianity or any other form of religion—if such loyalty was placed above loyalty to the Communist State.**

### Would Destroy Our Government by Force

MR. WHIPPLE: **How did he propose to abolish our present form of government in this country?**

DR. NANCE: **He said that he "hoped that the violence and destruction of life and property would not be necessary to achieve the purpose of the Communist Party in overthrowing our form of government" but that "violence and destruction of life and property might be necessary to achieve the purposes of the Communists."**

MR. WHIPPLE: Did he leave any doubt in your mind that the Communist Party would resort to violence if necessary to overthrow our present form of government?

DR. NANCE: No. None whatsoever.

MR. WHIPPLE: What, if anything, did Browder say at this interview about the technique used by the Communist Party in worming their way into, or infiltrating into the school systems, the churches, clubs, fraternities, peace societies and labor organizations to achieve their goal of overthrowing a government and gaining control of a country?

DR. NANCE: Many of the same things he said in his book "The Democratic Front," which was published a few months after our interview. Such as, "Our party members are at work in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Worker's Alliance, the American Youth Congress, various organizations of World War veterans, the National Negro Congress, in the farm, cultural, fraternal, religious, professional and in other organizations, and in those of national groups . . . We set our aim to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all leaders and members of these organizations . . . and to win their most advanced representatives to membership in the Communist Party."

### No Distinction Between Communist Party of Russia and the Communist Party of United States

MR. WHIPPLE: What distinction, if any, did Browder at that time make between the Communist aims of America and the Communist aims of Russia?

DR. NANCE: "The Communist aims in America are the same as they are in Russia," Browder told me. "We are indeed Stalinists and we hope to become ever more worthy of such a glorious name."

MR. WHIPPLE: —referring to the Communist Party in the United States.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did he say anything at that interview that would indicate that the Communist Party of the United States was in any way different from the Communist Party of Russia?

DR. NANCE: Not at all. In fact, he made it quite clear that the aims and objectives of one were the aims and objectives of both; that there were no such entities as Communist Parties, one for Russia and one for the United States, one for another country, but that the Communist Party of the United States was a part, or an arm of, the world organization of the Communist Party which has its headquarters in, and takes its orders from Moscow. "The international unity of all Communists of the world has become more complete and unconditional than ever before."

MR. WHIPPLE: Did Browder mean by that that any club of the Communist Party that might be operating in Seattle, whether on or off the University of Washington campus, would have to carry out the Communist Party line, as Browder explained it to you, even to overthrowing our form of government and substituting a classless society of atheists in its stead?

DR. NANCE: That is exactly what he meant. He said that was the aim of all Communists everywhere; that all Communists of all nations lived for the day when the entire world would be under the control of the Communist Party. That's one reason why they have worked so tirelessly to get into our schools, universities, and churches and labor organizations.

Browder does not mince words on this subject. He says, "At the center of the growing unity of all Communists is the glorious inspiration of the Soviet Union under the leadership of its Communist Party and Joseph Stalin. We proclaim the fact to the world. It is our most powerful shield and weapon . . . We set as the task of all leading bodies of our party to assimilate

more consciously and master the lessons of Comrade Stalin's leadership, so gloriously exemplified in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . This is a militant party, armed with Marxist-Leninist Theory, which has imbibed the whole revolutionary experience . . . and is filled with the determination to fight to the end for victory of the proletarian revolution and the construction of Communism."

/s/ Ellwood C. Nance  
ELLWOOD C. NANCE

STATE OF WASHINGTON }  
COUNTY OF KING } ss.

Ellwood C. Nance, being first duly sworn on oath says:

I have read the above and foregoing transcript of the questions asked me and my answers given thereto, and the same as reported therein are true and correct.

/s/ Ellwood C. Nance  
ELLWOOD C. NANCE"

## TESTIMONY OF MR. MILTON DIX

MR. HOUSTON: Will you stand up and be sworn, Mr. Dix?

MILTON DIX, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Dix, I do not believe that you have been here previously, have you, and have you heard any instructions to the witnesses?

MR. DIX: No, I have not.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, it's being recorded so we ask that you speak right directly toward the microphone and that you not keep turning your head from side to side and that you answer all questions audibly instead of by a nod or motion because it cannot be recorded that way and if we come to an unusual word that you spell it.

Will you please state your name?

MR. DIX: Milton Dix.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are you a resident, Mr. Dix?

MR. DIX: Washington, Seattle, Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the city of Seattle?

MR. DIX: For the last twenty years and prior to that since about 1902 all my life.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Dix, if you are, or if you ever have been, a member of the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: Yes, I have.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you first join the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: The exact date escapes me, it was some time early in 1938.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you leave the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: Early in 1938.

MR. HOUSTON: About how long were you in the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: I believe it could be construed to the absolute minimum period, thirty days.

MR. HOUSTON: Thirty days.

MR. HOUSTON: I hand you herewith the Communist Party membership book, number 53869, and ask if you can identify that book.

MR. DIX: I believe I gave that to your operator here.

MR. HOUSTON: What is that book?

MR. DIX: That was the book that was given me, I—I was then given to understand and believe, as the evidence of membership in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, in this book, in the section for January, 1938, is a little dues stamp which has on it "Communist Party of the U.S.A." with a hammer and a sickle. What does that designate?

MR. DIX: I'm sorry I can't very well understand. I asked the same question. I'm neither a mechanic nor a farmer, and I asked the significance and didn't get any intelligent answer so I didn't buy any more of them.

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, does it mean that you owe—but you paid, you bought that stamp?

MR. DIX: I did buy that stamp.

MR. HOUSTON: How much did that stamp cost you?

MR. DIX: I cannot recall. Not very much or I wouldn't have bought it, not over fifty cents.

MR. HOUSTON: Now this book is made out under name to Art Patton. Is that the name they gave you in the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: That was my understanding.

MR. HOUSTON: That was your understanding?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman I would like to submit this article in evidence calling the attention of the committee to the fact that each page has printed on it a hammer and sickle and repeatedly a series of three lines which reads, "Communist Party of the United States of America, a section of the Communist International." I ask that this be given an exhibit number and incorporated in the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be entered as Exhibit No. 20 and so identified.

(WHEREUPON the copy of the book referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 20.)

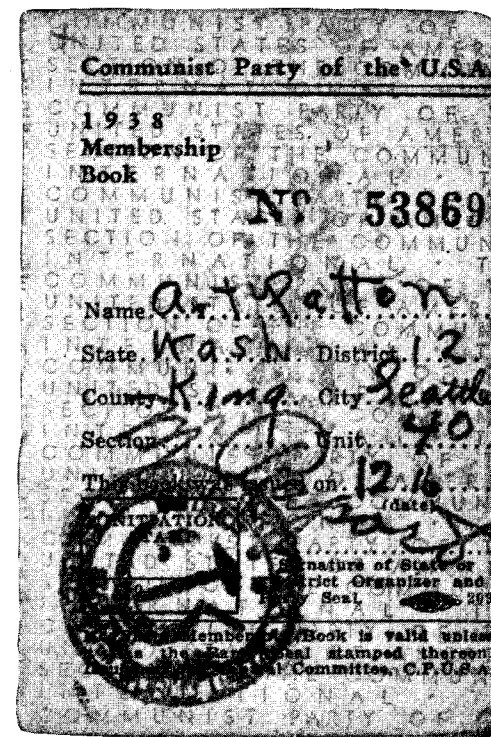


EXHIBIT 20—Membership Book No. 53869, Issued to Witness Dix.

MR. HOUSTON: Who recruited you in the Communist Party, Mr. Dix?

MR. DIX: I'm not entirely sure, my impression is that it was Mr. Guth, at that time associated with me in business. Whether he actually recruited—as a matter of fact I didn't require the various tests of recruitment, I was interested in it and was glad to investigate and find out what they had to offer, and it's entirely possible that I requested him to put my name in.

MR. HOUSTON: Did—do you have reference to Mr. Chester Guth, Guth?

MR. DIX: That is right, that's correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Who, himself was a member of the Party?

MR. DIX: That is right, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you attend any meetings of the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: Yes, I did, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Of—

MR. DIX: I believe there are two fraction units and some units which I've later learned were in the professional group or something of that nature.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have any meetings in your own home?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: They met in your own—

MR. DIX: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —home. Now, did you have any position in the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Ever collect dues or anything like that?

MR. DIX: No, sir, never.

MR. HOUSTON: Weren't in that long?

MR. DIX: That's right. I don't think they liked me.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Burton James?

MR. DIX: I know Mr. James, yes sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you come to know Mr. James?

MR. DIX: I've been a—I will say a close personal friend of Miss Cornish when she was here and my wife has been a student and a teacher of Miss Cornish—and the James's had a very high reputation in the artistic life of the city. I know them primarily through that connection. I also know them because I was interested during the period of the attack on the legal government of Spain, by Franco and backed up by Hitler and Mussolini—I was interested in doing what we could through an organization that was formed called "The Medical Bureau for the Relief of—The Medical Bureau for Loyalist Spain," or something like that. We provided blood and medical service and things of strictly a charitable and humanitarian nature to the Loyalists of Spain and I believe she appeared on—as a sponsor, an active worker in that very laudable program and I appeared as treasurer for this district, and—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, sir

MR. DIX: Yes, sir. Through that connection I knew him.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever sit in any Communist Party meetings with either of the two Jameses?

MR. DIX: I couldn't say, no, sir. I sat in meetings and to be absolutely truthful I couldn't say at this late date if they were Communists or the

Medical Bureau. It was very late in the history of the Medical Bureau, so far as I was concerned, that I learned that it did have a considerable dominance in the Communist Party at which time I identified myself with the Party and shortly thereafter I disassociated.

MR. HOUSTON: You dropped out. They were active in these meetings and its—would have been the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy or Communist meetings.

MR. DIX: That is—that is correct, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Jesse Epstein?

MR. DIX: I have met Mr. Epstein.

MR. HOUSTON: And what was the occasion of this meeting?

MR. DIX: I can't even recall the occasion. I just know him—possibly through business groups. I recall I—I called on him once when he was head of the housing authority here to discuss the not permitting colored people to move into a certain district because it would depress land values, and I was elected on a group that went to ask him to do that and he said that was contrary to the Federal laws—so I said "all-right," we've asked him and that's all there is to it and I believe I was chairman of that group and I did ask him.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you if you know Ralph H. Gundlach?

MR. DIX: I know Professor Gundlach; yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how did you get acquainted with Professor Gundlach?

MR. DIX: I knew him in the same way that I knew the James; because of his—a man of vested interest and fine cooperation in the medical group.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever sat—do you know whether or not Mr. Gundlach is a member of the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: No, sir, not definitely. I do not.

### Says "Rocky" Forschmiedt Is a Communist

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of Rachmiel, Rachmiel, Forschmiedt, Forschmiedt; known as "Rocky" Forschmiedt?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir. I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh-huh. Now, do you know—how did you meet Mr. Forschmiedt?

MR. DIX: I met him through the Communist Party per se, that is—not the Medical Bureau.

MR. HOUSTON: You met him directly—

MR. DIX: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —through the Communist Party. Now, did you sit in any meetings with Mr. Forschmiedt?

MR. DIX: I cannot recall any meetings at which I sat with him, no sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did he visit you after you dropped out of the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion for his visit?

MR. DIX: He asked me to pay up past dues.

MR. HOUSTON: He tried to get you to reinstate in the Communist Party, is that right?

MR. DIX: It might be better phrased this way; that he asked why I hadn't kept myself paid up. He didn't definitely solicit.

MR. HOUSTON: Is there any question in your mind whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: None whatsoever.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I'll ask you if you can—have seen this piece of paper before—that printed matter.

MR. DIX: Oh yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And what is that?

MR. DIX: I—you mean the first—the first two letters of that is an appeal for funds for the aid of the Medical Bureau to Spanish democracy and these are the sponsors.

MR. HOUSTON: That is the official letter-head?

MR. DIX: That is the official letter-head.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like at this time to introduce—

MR. DIX: May I interrupt a moment?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. DIX: That is not—that is an appeal letter, which is superimposed on the official letter-head—the official letter-head is—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, but the—without the letter—

MR. DIX: Yes. That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to introduce into the record as an exhibit this letter, Mr. Chairman, calling attention of the Committee to the fact that among the sponsors is **Mr. Hugh DeLacy, The Witness Mr. Milton Dix, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach and Mr. and Mrs. Burton James and Professor Melvin Rader.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified in the record as Committee's Exhibit number 21, and so marked.

*(WHEREUPON, document referred to was received, marked and entered into the record as Exhibit No. 21.)*

MR. HOUSTON: Now, this is the same only in blank, isn't it?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir; that is.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what is this, Mr. Dix?

MR. DIX: It's a list of rather important people—Theodore Dreiser and Albert Einstein. I have no connection whatever with this. To the best of my recollection these were people who might have been interested in receiving literature pertaining to our local Committee For Aid To Spain.

MR. HOUSTON: You were furnished that? You have seen it before?

MR. DIX: Oh yes, I have seen that. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, this is a letter-head of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, headquarters in San Francisco. The group of sponsors as Mr. Dix has testified are very important people. I'd like to introduce that into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified in the record as Committee's Exhibit number 22.

*(WHEREUPON, document referred to was received, marked and entered as Exhibit No. 22.)*

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I'm concerned only with the letterhead here, Mr. Dix—what is that?

MR. DIX: That is the larger or parent organization of the Spanish Medical Aid which center is in New York city. And then, of course, our group here was a local group who—and we remitted funds to this group.

MR. HOUSTON: To this group here?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir, and that you can see is the letterhead.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce this exhibit into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified in the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 23.

*(WHEREUPON, document referred to was received, marked, and entered as Exhibit No. 23.)*

MR. HOUSTON: Now, these two are the same, are they not, Mr. Dix?

MR. DIX: No, that other, I believe, was the National and this is the Northern California.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I mean these two are the same, here.

MR. DIX: Oh, yes. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce one of these two which is for the Northern California Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified in the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 24.

*(WHEREUPON, document referred to was received, marked, and entered as Exhibit No. 24.)*

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Dix, you testified that you knew positively of your own knowledge "Rocky" Forschmiedt was a member of the Communist Party and tried to collect dues from you. Can you identify who Mr. Forschmiedt is?

MR. DIX: No, sir. I did not intend to so positively identify him. I said "to the best of my understanding" he was, but I cannot recall ever having sat in any fraction meetings with him.

MR. HOUSTON: No, but he tried to collect money from you.

MR. DIX: He told me that I should pay it. I—whether I should have paid it to him or not is a question. Now I think the sense of it is that that was correct, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, can you identify who Mr. Forschmiedt is?

MR. DIX: You mean visually?

MR. HOUSTON: No—what does he do? How can you—how can we know who you are talking about? Do you know who he worked for?

MR. DIX: I believe he had some sort of position with the city, I'm not sure.

MR. HOUSTON: City of Seattle?

MR. DIX: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Is he the "Rocky" For—is he the Rachmiel Forschmiedt that's the Chief Sanitarian for the City of Seattle?

MR. DIX: I think that's what it is.

MR. HOUSTON: His name is Rachmiel, I believe.

MR. DIX: Rachmiel, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I ask you if you can identify that, Mr. Dix?

MR. DIX: That's a record of deposits and withdrawals, a special fund, established in the National Bank of Commerce under the name of Medical Bureau of Aid to Spanish Democracy in care of Milton Dix.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce these three records here for different months into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified in the record as Committee's Exhibit number 25.

*(WHEREUPON, document referred to was received, marked, and entered as Exhibit No. 25.)*

MR. HOUSTON: You said, Mr. Dix, that toward the conclusion of your service with the Medical Bureau of The Aid to Spanish Democracy, **you'd become aware or informed that it was Communist dominated or controlled?**

MR. DIX: **Yes, sir, that is correct.** It is very difficult to explain exactly how one becomes aware of these things, and as I say, I was not particularly opposed to Communism at that time, and it seemed that later on, I—while I was not, as I say—not even within a year or so after I left the Party particularly opposed to what I felt it stood for, but I just didn't, oh, didn't see any necessity of continuing to attend meetings. I wasn't interested in them.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Dix, isn't it a fact that you were a member of the, and worked for the Medical Bureau of Aid to Spanish Democracy before you were a member of or interested in the Communist Party?

MR. DIX: Oh, yes, sir. Very much so.

MR. HOUSTON: **And would you say that you were softened up with the Communist Party by your affiliation with this organization?**

MR. DIX: **Yes, I think I had a perfectly natural regard for the Communists, because of—of their very definite aid they were giving to the party that I was supporting, which was the Loyalist Government in Spain.**

MR. HOUSTON: I think that's all, Mr. Chairman. I am through with the witness, and I want to thank him for appearing, and I ask that he be excused.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Many thanks to you, Mr. Dix, for appearing at this time, and you may be excused from further attendance.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. MILDRED GENEVIEVE DIX

MILDRED GENEVIEVE DIX, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MRS. DIX: Mildred Genevieve Dix.

MR. HOUSTON: You are the wife of the previous witness?

MRS. DIX: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mrs. Dix, do you know a man—I still can't pronounce that first name, Rachmiel, I believe, Forschmiedt?

MRS. DIX: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion of your meeting him?

MRS. DIX: I think he attended a meeting of the Communist Party at our house. I'm not positive, but I think he was one of the men that we—

MR. HOUSTON: And did he visit in your home several times after that?

MRS. DIX: I wouldn't say that he visited; he called on my husband, and I recall the time that he came to ask him about, if he was going to continue paying dues, or something of that sort.

MR. HOUSTON: And you were present and heard that conversation?

MRS. DIX: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And he attempted to collect dues in the Communist Party from your husband.

MRS. DIX: That was my understanding.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, and thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I ask—I'm through with this witness, and I ask that she be excused, also, from subpoena.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, you may be excused from further attendance.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much.

*(Witness Excused)*

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would be willing to make a statement for the record here, the witness feels that she didn't get a chance to bring out the fact that she was never a member of the Communist Party. I thought that my absence of asking the question would cover that, but I would be very glad to make a statement at this time that **there is no information by this testimony that Mrs. Dix ever was a member of the Communist Party.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show the same.

MRS. DIX: Thank you.



## TESTIMONY OF HOWARD RUSHMORE RESUMED

HOWARD RUSHMORE, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you were sworn this morning, Mr. Rushmore, and if you will continue now with the testimony that you were giving us when we recessed this morning.

MR. RUSHMORE: If I may, I would like to read into the record, since I testified this morning a member of the Committee's staff has gone to the University of Washington where apparently there is a file of the "Daily Worker," and a check of the file of that newspaper shows that on Tuesday, November the 9th, 1937, there appeared an article under the head "Congressmen Hit Sham Neutrality After Spain Tour." The head is under a three-column cut of John T. Bernard and Jerry J. O'Connell. The deck, or what we call the deck or secondary headline, reads: "Representative O'Connell and Bernard Plan Campaign to Repeal Embargo on Spain—Will Report on Trip to President Roosevelt." The article is signed by Howard Rushmore.

MR. HOUSTON: That is the article that you referred to, and is a result of this interview that you gave aboard ship to Congressmen O'Connell and Bernard.

### Predicts New Communist Party Policy

MR. RUSHMORE: That is correct. I would like at this time to tell the Committee, and give them my idea of some events which will affect their estate and their investigations in the future, events which happened yesterday in New York; namely, the arrest of twelve, or I believe it is thirteen now, leaders of the American Communist Party, on charges of attempting to overthrow the Government by force and violence.

That will set, I think, into effect a new Communist Party policy. Up until now we have found the Communist Party at its various hearings, such as this Committee's, other Committees have covered in the past, including the Hollywood hearing in Washington, the sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor and Education in New York and in Washington and several others; these various committee hearings, Communist leaders were named, or Communist leaders of unions, or Communist Party members in some particular industry or profession. They were called to the stand, and they attempted to—they are very skillful propagandists, I'm sure the Committee knows that by now.

They attempted to create an impression, wherever it might be, in Washington, New York, Seattle, or Los Angeles, that freedom of speech is being stifled by in person or at hand; no regard, of course, for the legality of their actions of their attorneys, a show put on on the witness stand in defiance of all the rules of court procedure—committee procedure, and legal procedures. In New York, a few days ago, while I was sitting at the press table on this end of the game, the comrades would get on the witness stand and be ejected in time for the Wall Street editions of the afternoon papers, and time their afternoon ejections in time for the morning papers. A very cleverly planned move. We could tell almost to the minute, from the press table, when they were going to start their speech which would result automatically, with the rules of procedure, in their ejection.

I see it working here, and it probably will continue to work until the line comes in from New York based on the arrest of yesterday. Now the Communist Party faces a problem. Definitely I think the actions of the Justice Department yesterday, will hurt the Communist Party. There is no doubt of that. I think it's a walking step forward. I might point out, however, that in my opinion, a lot more has to be done. I think this Committee is doing an excellent job of hitting a Communist where it hurts the most. The Committee could go out and take the secretary of the Communist Party of Washington, bring him to the stand, and when he refused—he would naturally have to answer the question he was a Communist, and he would be proud of it. He would make quite a speech.

It would mean nothing if, under some state or federal statute, he was arrested and convicted and served a sentence, because the Communist Party always has secondary leaders ready to take their place. Two or three years ago the Communist Party in New York set up a—a group to replace Foster and Dennis, Ben Davis, the various leaders arrested yesterday; but it does mean something to the Communist Party when a Committee such as this Committee names the Communists who are trying to hide their identity, who are trying to screen their activities in a university, or wherever it may be. That is hurting the Party in a very, very effective way.

### Communists in Federal Government Exposed

I might point out on the national scale, that still remaining to be done is the exposure of the Communists who since 1934 have attained positions in the Federal Government of considerable importance. I was very disappointed yesterday, upon reading the list of Communists arrested, to find only avowed Communists, four of whom are already either under indictment or convicted in various contempt charges, two of whom are up for deportation, and the remaining six are well known for twenty years as members of the Communist Party.

What I would like to see, out of Washington, will be a list of the Communists who have served in the Federal Government. I have before me now a copy of an F.B.I. report. This report consists of notes taken by two members of the F.B.I. in an interview with a witness who was a member of a Communist Party organization in Washington. This witness later appeared before the special Federal Grand Jury in Washington and in New York, which started its sessions last summer, one year ago. This was the same special Federal Grand Jury that handed down the indictments which resulted in the arrests yesterday of the twelve avowed Communists.

These facts I am about to read, or quote from, were given to this Grand Jury, plus the testimony of about one hundred and fifty other persons, most of them former Communist Party members. This testimony before this Grand Jury, and based on this report, amounted to something like this: Back in 1934, a man named Harold Ware, returned from Russia bringing with him a considerable amount of money, and out of a violin studio operated by his sister, at Dupont Circle, headquarters were established for a unique espionage organization. Ware had contacts with some Party members in Washington. Gradually they brought into this highly secret cell of the Communist Party, men like this: **Lee Pressman, that's Pressman of the War Labor Board, now a candidate for Congress on the Wallace ticket in Brooklyn; another was Donald Hiss, at that time in Wallace's Triple A; another is John Apt, also a national figure in the present Wallace organization; also**

Charles Krivitzky, that's Krivitsky, zky, rather, Krivitzky, who is known in Washington as Cramer.

Mr. Cramer, by the way, or Comrade Cramer, was quite a speech writer, having written speeches for Senator Claude Pepper and a number of other New Dealers, during his career.

### Silvermaster and Hiss Identified

Other members of this Communist Party cell included Gregory Silvermaster. Silvermaster is with the Treasury Department, or was the last time I heard.

Also, and very important, in this Communist Party cell was a person known as Alger Hiss, that's Alger Hiss, a brother of Donald Hiss. Hiss first came into the Government in the Wallace Triple A program, he became a member of the Nye Munitions Investigating Committee, and then went to the State Department.

There are other names I will come to shortly, that were sent here on orders from the Russian Government, and of course the Russian GPU, planned this—the use of these comrades very skillfully; Hiss in the State Department, or wherever he might have been at the time, was told to organize a similar cell in the State Department; Pressman in the War Labor Board, had the same duty; wherever they had a trusted Party member in a Government bureau, that Party member set up a subsidiary cell. Now the task of this secondary cell, shall I say, was to obtain all confidential information of interest to the Soviet Government was taken at night by Government workers and copied or photostated, in some cases it was stolen if it—if they could get away with it, and given to the head of the cell in the Bureau; such as Hiss at the State Department received over the course of a week, the various stolen documents, or copied documents, or information or data, and then he in turn as head of that cell, would report once a week to the apartment of Gregory Silvermaster to turn in all information.

From Silvermaster's apartment, where this information was compiled, from Labor, from State, from Commerce, from wherever the Party had a cell, a courier, as the Party calls a messenger boy, and a very trusted one naturally, would relay the information, the copied documents, stolen documents, whatever it might be, to the Russian Embassy.

**This went on from the time Ware got it organized in '34 up until, as far as I know, the present time.** I am sure that it has been slackened, shall we say, from its former efficiency by the various activities of our intelligence services in Washington; but it is interesting to note that Alger Hiss was definitely named a member of the Communist Party by Whitaker Chambers, that's Chambers, a senior editor of "Time" magazine, and a former city editor of the "Daily Worker." **Hiss was named by Chambers as a Communist Party member in a signed affidavit to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1943.**

This affidavit bearing Chambers' signature, that he has sat in closed unit meetings of the Communist Party in Washington, with Hiss, was sent to the State Department. That was in 1943.

I have before me now a clipping from the "New York Times" dated December the 10th, 1946. I quote from this news story: "Alger Hiss of Washington, Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs of the Department of State, was elected President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday, at a meeting of the organization's Board of Trustees here. He succeeds Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who resigned in December 1945, and became President Emeritus. Mr. Hiss was born in Baltimore on November

the 11th, 1904. He obtained his B.A. Degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1926, and his LL.B from Harvard Law School in 1929. He went with President Roosevelt to the Crimea Conference in 1945."

Hiss was also an adviser of President Truman at the Potsdam Conference. Alger Hiss was also secretary-general of the San Francisco Conference.

### Identifies Many Communists in Federal Employment

Also in the State Department, and connected with the Soviet espionage ring organized by Ware, the GPU agent, was Lawrence Duggan, a high executive of the Philippine Section of the State Department, and Duggan worked with Hedda Gumperts, a member of the Communist Party and engaged with her husband whose name is Paul Massing, in GPU work. The Gumperts had a farm where a number of cell meetings were held, near Pinkerton, Pennsylvania.

Also, as part of the Federal Employees ring of Communists, was a man by the name of Harry Dexter White. We also have Dr. Harold Glasser, of the Treasury Department; Nathan Witt, formerly of the War Labor Board; and also a man by the name of Stephen, Stephen Bruneaur, who held up until recently, and may still hold, the rank of Navy Commander, who was engaged during the war in atomic research for the Government and the Navy, and whom I understand for a time was on the Navy Guided Missile Project.

These names I have named have been given more than a year ago, in the case of Alger Hiss five years ago, to the proper Government authorities. I hope that we may read that these New Deal officials will also be named as part of the Soviet plan to overthrow our Government, named as well as the avowed Communist leaders, who in many cases have made no bones in this country about their objective.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, during the period of time that you were an organizer for the Young Communist League, did you become conversant with the pattern of operation of the Communist Party in the field of education?

MR. RUSHMORE: Not too directly. I had some experience, mainly in handling of news for the Young Worker,—or, the Daily Worker. We had the National Students League, which later became the American Students Union, which was headed by Joseph Lash, who was then at the time, at least, a member of the National Board of the Young Communist League, and later when he sought a commission in Naval Intelligence, upon the request of Mrs. Roosevelt, I was only too happy to reveal to Naval Intelligence that I had met with Mr. Lash in the National Board meeting of the Young Communist League; and I understand from Naval Intelligence, that fact, plus others, kept him out of uniform in a nice spot for a Communist to be in, if he was still one at the time; but aside from things like that, I had no direct contact with the—either the teacher or student movement, as such.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you familiar in general, with the objectives that they had?

MR. RUSHMORE: The students or teachers, or both?

MR. HOUSTON: The—the Party.

MR. RUSHMORE: In educational work?

MR. HOUSTON: Their general objectives in the educational field.

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, that book I had this morning, had something to the effect that the line has changed. In 1929 the Young Communist Interna-

tional ruled that bourgeois education was not acceptable, and they must fight against it. The line changed around '35 to building teachers' unions, building student organizations, fighting for higher pay for teachers, better class room—class rooms for students, no discrimination in schools, and things like that. In other words, they found out that they had a good springboard for a lot of issues, some of which were very legitimate, and the Communists seized upon them.

### Communists in Teachers' Union and Student Organizations

They had considerable success I would say, in both fields. Local 5 of the Teachers' Union was completely controlled by the Communist Party in New York City, and so completely controlled that they were expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1942, on charges of Communism. They still—then they went to the C.I.O. and still claim around five thousand public school teachers. They very steadily tried to propagandize in the class rooms. I would say they were very clever about it, because as the Board of Education in New York has been quite anxious to catch them at it and is having a hard job, principally because the only witnesses in most cases would be students, and it is rather hard to put an eight- or ten- or twelve-year-old child on a witness stand; and,—but I know on one occasion a teacher wrote on the black-board, "Be sure and go home and tell your parents to vote for some local Communist issue, or candidate at that time," and they will, whenever they can, bring out the fact that Russia is a great democracy, and, in their teaching of history or sociology, continually revert to what is called a very distilled but still effective form of Marxism, whether it's on the plane of Russia, or American Imperialism, or what's happening in Siam, or wherever it may be. They tried carefully to slip in that—the Party line; but they have to be—adopt extreme—extremely cautious methods because in our city the Board of Education on the whole is pretty much against the Communists and as far as told them when they found the proof.

In the student field, the Communists had, I would say, even more success. They conducted student—strikes, peace strikes they called them, before the Stalin-Hitler Pact went into effect, and after that they formed a—on the campuses around the country, the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming," and protested the Imperialist War. Then, of course, when Russia was invaded, against her own will, we found the Young Communists setting up Win the War committees, a familiar pattern; and after V-J Day we found the Young Communists in the colleges organizing committees to bring the boys back home; in other words, get the Yanks out of Germany and Japan, so Joe would have more of a chance over there.

### Youth Movement in Communist Party

The American Youth for Democracy was formed in 1944 or '3, I think—I forget the exact date—the Young Communist League under another name.

Then along came Wallace, hand-picked by the Communist Party last October, by the way, and Students for Wallace came into being. **So now the—from the Young Workers League, to the Young Communist League, to the American Youth for Democracy, to the Students for Wallace, is the pattern of—of the student movement.**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, from your knowledge and study of the Communist Party, former official of the Communist Party, city editor of their paper, the Daily Worker, do you have any opinion, or **have you formed an opinion as to**

**whether the Communist Party is revolutionary in character in its aims toward the government of the United States of America.**

MR. RUSHMORE: **That's its only aim.** Their documents setting that forth are many and varied but they all come to the central point made by Marx a hundred years ago. That only way to establish the Communist State is by the forcible overthrow of the existing form of government which in this case, of course, would mean our—our democratic form of government.

**Nothing else is ever taught in the party schools.** The real training schools of the Communist Party are devoted to a study of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism. The books of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, are circulated through all Communist branches and even those which have been revised because they might be a little, shall we say truthful, theoretically, even those will bear out the contention of the government yesterday, that the Communist Party whether it is in the national office in New York, or whether it is in an obscure Students for Wallace movement at the University of Georgia, whether it is in the Farmer's Union in North Dakota, or wherever it may be; wherever there is a Communist they have one aim, to do their part in overthrowing a Capitalist or Democratic form of government and establishing what they call the dictatorship or the proletarian.

### Communists Loyal to Russia in Case of War

MR. HOUSTON: In case of war between Russia and the United States is there any doubt about whom the Communist would be loyal to in this country?

MR. RUSHMORE: Absolutely no doubt. They would be loyal only to Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: Loyal only to Russia. And that is so proclaimed in their literature, is it not?

MR. RUSHMORE: That is so ordered, shall we say.

MR. HOUSTON: So ordered.

MR. RUSHMORE: It might take—I might add it might take subtle forms that the U.I.C.L. or the Party might order its people into the Army and Navy, and as Lenin so often proclaimed, there to work to turn that army against its own government.

The Party might be very smart about the thing and not say "we won't register or you can send us to jail" and so forth and so on. They might use the more subtle approach of sabotage.

MR. HOUSTON: Whatever they did, they would try to help Russia?

MR. RUSHMORE: That would be the only aim.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, from your study of the writings of the Communist Party leaders do you have any conclusions as to whether Communism and Capitalism can live side by side in a world happily and contentedly getting along together, or is war an inevitable result of the two?

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, I have my conclusions, naturally, but I might quote roughly from Stalin's pamphlet "Foundations of Leninism" in which he said that war between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union is inevitable. He meant by that, and he said that **these two systems cannot live side by side. One or the other must perish and the only reason now that we are doing some perishing is that Russia does not have the Atom Bomb.** As I said this morning they tried very hard to get it but I am convinced that the moment Stalin obtains the bomb in any quantity, God help us if he does, it will be dropped wherever he can drop it.

### Party Discipline

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rushmore, how does the Communist Party treat people who fall away from it—who leave its ranks—who attempt to give it up.

MR. RUSHMORE: Well, to come back to—a moment to Professor Polonius yesterday afternoon. What amused me about his attitude was this:

If Professor Polonius, what's his name, by the way, I can't recall—

MR. HOUSTON: Ethel, Dr. Garland Ethel, is that the one to whom you make reference?

MR. RUSHMORE: If Comrade Ethel, or present Comrade Ethel, I don't know which, had been in Germany, say in 1934, a member of the German Communist Party, and had disagreed with them on minor or major issues that expressed his right of freedom of speech in a Communist unit, of his Communist Party unit, the "comrades" would probably have done what they did to many like, using a comparison, to many like him. They would turn the list of the "comrades" that they wanted out of the way over to the Nazi Gestapo. Naturally the head of the party is not going to Gestapo headquarters and give to his Brown Brethren the list of the "comrades" but it would be gotten to the Gestapo one way or another and the Gestapo is only too happy to oblige the "comrade" by bumping off the dissidents. That happened a number of times in Germany before the war broke out.

In this country, and I might add, in many cases because the commissar of the particular unit or industry in which this dissident "comrade" was engaged, figured well, I—look, he's kicking up the traces here and he's exercising a little freedom of speech that we don't like so let the Gestapo have him.

In this country I had Frederic Myers, up until last year a national official of the National Maritime Union C.I.O., tell me while I was on the Worker that a certain "comrade" in the union aboard a ship had gotten a little independent and said he was—he didn't like the way the party was running things—that the Communist Party was a menace to the American Trade Union Movement, he thought, and he was going to expose them before the C.I.O.

According to Myers, this "comrade" was lost at sea on—on a heavy swell that was coming over the bows at night.

You'll hear these stories many times within the Communist Party; of a seaman who was a member of the Party who doesn't agree with everything and gets a little troublesome to the party, still loyal to it in many ways, have a beam drop on his head, or a longshoreman will fall through a hole about 30 feet and break his neck, or—it happens quite frequently in industry where they can get away with it. They believe in assassination. They haven't done too much of it in this country because it would actually hurt them if they were caught and their—the Carlos Cresta incident, that's Cresta, the Italian Labor Editor who was killed in New York City several years ago, I am convinced that the Communist Party did that job. **Of course it's a matter of record that they killed Leon Trotsky. Trotsky exercised the right in Russia, he had been a very loyal revolutionist. I have no sympathy or pity for him; he was as bad as Stalin and a little smarter except in the long run that Stalin got control of power, and Trotsky was always a menace to that power of Stalin.** Mr. Holmes can tell you more about that later because he knows the story very well.

### They Killed Leon Trotsky

But what did they do with Trotsky? They sent him to—out of the—he barely got out of the country with his life, went to Norway and finally to Mexico where the Communist Party finally killed him. You would think he was pretty well isolated in Mexico but as long as a person of Trotsky's stature was alive in the world, Stalin felt that it might be a threat to him politically in one way or the other. So they sent this GPU man down to Mexico and through a girl he got into Trotsky's home, spent six months there, and finally swung the axe on him one day and killed him.

An interesting side light to that is that this fellow whose name is Jackson, the GPU man that is now in jail in Mexico, was getting a little tired of jail and about a year ago threatened to do some talking. As a result of that the Comintern or the M.B.D., as it is known now, the Soviet Secret Police, set up a new squad to bump off Jackson. Now this goes on and on. How long Jackson will live I don't know, but the report that the F.B.I. got from Mexican Police is that in one case a Soviet Agent attempted to bribe a jailer, offered him \$25,000, Mexican, to let him in the cell with Jackson for a couple of minutes. The Mexican trustee, whoever he was, was an honest lad and reported this incident so they stopped that. But they use every trick; character, as I have mentioned. I am sure that all members of the Committee before this is over, perhaps you have received it now—I've been called anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant—anti-Protestant or anti-Negro. If you haven't been you probably will.

### Character Assassination

The Thomas Committee, the California Committee, the Rapp-Coudert Committee have all had the same story. No matter what they did, how legally they proceeded, how thoroughly they proceeded, the smear campaign went on and it placed, not only on a racial basis, they will stop at nothing such as a campaign involving morality. I tried to get across the idea this morning of their actual belief in morality but their character assassination is very expert. They do terrific jobs. They even have access to certain national columns. Until a few years ago a certain columnist would spread this stuff, that certain enemies of the party were—he slapped them about without knowing it is being used as a tool in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh—

MR. RUSHMORE: So, if I may add one word. Having seized all of . . . this is playing with ethics on the part of a "comrade," either having seen it or having heard it from the people who know, I would say that Professor Polonius' plea was rather a weak one. If he was thinking of protecting members of his own profession, American spirit of fair play, I would agree with him.

**But no member of the Communist Party who is a school teacher can be called either an American or a teacher.** He deserves the same treatment, I would say, as the Nazi saboteurs who came over in the submarine, or the same treatment that he would receive in Russia should be disagree with Stalin.

MR. HOUSTON: These Americans, loyal Americans who have taken the stand and testified as to their former membership and affiliations with the party and those who engaged with them in Communist work have performed a real service to their country and some made sacrifices which practically

only an expert in this field or an ex-Communist appreciates. Is that correct?

MR. RUSHMORE: There are many witnesses, including my friend, Tim, here, who can tell you the treatment they received in their industry or profession after they had so testified. I have been fortunate, I haven't received that but I know many who have, have been in some cases fired, and some cases every attempt was made to prove they were bigamists, the lowest depths of the human character—cha—is coined by the Communist party in seeking revenge on what they call their "renegades."

Or people who leave the party are willing to get on a stand and testify as to what Communism is and who makes up the party. I would advise the Committee to be on the watchout for such reprisals against witnesses who appear here before it, friendly witnesses, I—mean.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness and I certainly think he deserves the thanks of the Committee for the sacrifice he has made in coming out here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I wish to express the sincere appreciation of the entire Committee and, I think, the State of Washington, for the sacrifice that you have made in coming across the United States at no profit to yourself and we do appreciate that effort and we wish you and Mrs. Rushmore a most pleasant trip home.

MR. RUSHMORE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest just a short recess of ten or fifteen minutes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for about fifteen minutes.

(Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF PROF. HAROLD EBY

### English Department, University of Washington

PROFESSOR EDWIN HAROLD EBY, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard the instructions to other witnesses as to the fact that this is being recorded, and will you speak into the microphone so that you might be heard.

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

PROFESSOR EBY: Edwin Harold Eby.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born?

PROFESSOR EBY: I was born in Los Angeles, California.

MR. HOUSTON: And the date of your birth?

PROFESSOR EBY: 1900.

MR. HOUSTON: 1900. What is your occupation?

PROFESSOR EBY: I am a teacher.

MR. HOUSTON: A teacher. Are you—is it proper to address you as Doctor, or, do you have your Ph.D.?

PROFESSOR EBY: I have my Ph.D.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you teach, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: At the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: And how long have you taught there?

PROFESSOR EBY: I've taught there about twenty years.

MR. HOUSTON: Twenty years. What do you teach there, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: I teach American Literature.

MR. HOUSTON: American Literature. You are in the English Department?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

### Admits Own Membership

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I will ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party.

PROFESSOR EBY: That is two questions. I'll ask—answer them seriatim. The first one, I am not a member; and the second one, I was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: I can't remember exactly. I think it was '35 or '36.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, it was early in 1946.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you expelled from the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You didn't receive an expulsion notice?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Was there any expulsion notice published in any of their publications, as often happens when someone leaves the Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: I don't know; I haven't read their publications recently.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor, from time to time, or continuously, did you attend meetings of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, I attended meetings of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: How often would these meetings be held?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, it varied a great deal. Sometimes it would be perhaps once a month, and sometimes twice a month, or even more frequently.

MR. HOUSTON: Who would make the decision as to whether a meeting was to be held or not?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I think generally the group itself would.

MR. HOUSTON: Would they decide that at the previous meeting, decide when they would meet next, or would that be left to the call of the chairman or the secretary, or—

PROFESSOR EBY: No, they'd decide at the previous meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were these meetings held?

PROFESSOR EBY: Oh, in various places. Sometimes in homes, although I can't remember specifically the times and places of them.

MR. HOUSTON: **Were any of these meetings ever held in your home?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **Well, yes, I would assume so.** There were a lot of different kinds of meetings there; rather mixed up.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, let's—what kind of other meetings did you have, then? Let's list them, Doctor.

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I'd have meetings—conferences, perhaps, of people in the Washington Commonwealth Federation, or I'd have just meetings—discussion groups, or I'd have just meetings of friends, I suppose you would call them parties, I don't know.

### **Left Party to Devote More Time to Research and Writing**

MR. HOUSTON: Now,—why did you leave the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: I left the Communist Party because I came to the conclusion that I wanted to devote my whole time and energy to my research and writing, and American transcendentalism. Do you want me to elaborate somewhat on that?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, if you care to.

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I'm a teacher of American Literature, and I decided more and more that what I can do best of all really is research in writing, and the American transcendentalists were the—one of the great traditions of American writing, men like Emerson, and Thoreau, and Hawthorne, and Melville, and Whitman, and I'm doing research in writing a book on that, and I'm working on a concordance of Walt Whitman, and I find that I'm the kind of a person that is perhaps what you would call single-track minded, that when I write I've got to do that and nothing else.

It is true that I've come to the general conclusion, also, that I am in essence, I suppose, a liberal, and by that I would define it as, first of all I suppose you would call him an individualist, who follows his own convictions on things; and find that increasing interest in the American traditions made me feel more and more the great possibilities there of that tradition, its development, and possibilities.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall, Doctor, what unit of the Communist Party you first attended after you joined the Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, I have no memory of what they were, they changed in name and number. All I kept in mind was it was just a University unit.

MR. HOUSTON: It was a group meeting out at the University of—University professors and people connected with the University?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, it wasn't meeting at the University, no.

MR. HOUSTON: No, but I mean of the group that were associated at the University.

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, it was mostly that.

MR. HOUSTON: And that would have been the unit that you have been a member of all these years?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, as I say, it changed in various ways, yes, but essentially that's all.

MR. HOUSTON: **Now, were you issued a card in the Communist Party, Doctor?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **Yes, I was issued a card.**

MR. HOUSTON: **In what—what was the name on this card?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **Well, I can't remember that. I never paid any attention to it.** It was one of those things I felt was kind of meaningless and didn't pay any attention to it.

MR. HOUSTON: **Was it a name other than your own?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **Yes, I think it was.** I wouldn't swear to it now, though, because I am not sure of it.

MR. HOUSTON: When is the last time you had a card issued to you in the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: **To the best of my knowledge, it was in 1945.**

MR. HOUSTON: For the year 1945?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you pay dues in the Communist Party, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the amount of the dues that you paid?

PROFESSOR EBY: Oh, they varied so much, I can't—I haven't any idea what they were, in amount.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, was it five cents a month?

PROFESSOR EBY: Oh, no, it was certainly more than that.

MR. HOUSTON: Was it five dollars a month?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, I couldn't say it was five dollars a month. It might be that, or it might have varied.

MR. HOUSTON: The dues did vary, then. They were not set.

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was there any basis upon which you could determine what your dues were? A percentage of your salary, or—

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, as I say, I think that—that basis, there was some kind but it varied too.

MR. HOUSTON: That varied, too.

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, did you hold any positions in the Communist Party while you were a member?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I acted as chairman at times, but that was varied a great deal.

MR. HOUSTON: The chairman of this group that you have described?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes.

**Memory Is Vague**

MR. HOUSTON: Have you held any other position than chairman?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I don't know. I don't believe so.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you been a delegate to the county convention of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: **I haven't any memory of—of being a delegate, no. I might have been, though.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Have you attended any of the conventions, county conventions of the Communist Party?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **I can't—I can't recall any. I would hate to say I didn't, because there might have been, but I don't have any memory of one, that I attended.**

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Eby, who recruited you into the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, that was kind of a—one of those peculiar things. Shall I explain on it? I got interested in the problems and was attending various meetings during the depression. I wondered what was wrong and what would be the sure answer, and I attended one of the meetings of the Communist Party and they seemed to present a good program, and I got talking with somebody there, and I assumed he was a Communist, got interested and signed up a card. I can't recall the person—who he was, particularly.

MR. HOUSTON: You do not recall who took your application—

PROFESSOR EBY: No.

MR. HOUSTON: —into the Communist Party. Had you been solicited for membership into the Communist Party previous to this time?

PROFESSOR EBY: No, I can't say that I was.

MR. HOUSTON: You joined the Communist Party the first time you were asked?

PROFESSOR EBY: Well, I had been thinking about these problems, as I say, doing some reading. I felt that—

MR. HOUSTON: Who delivered your Communist Party card to you?

PROFESSOR EBY: **Well, I don't know who did.**

MR. HOUSTON: Who notified you of the first meeting that you were to attend?

PROFESSOR EBY: **I couldn't answer that.** That's a long time ago. I would want to be positive.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, why can't you answer it, Doctor?

PROFESSOR EBY: Because sir, that was a good many years ago.

MR. HOUSTON: Who notified you of the last meeting you attended in the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR EBY: **I don't—I think I probably notified myself.**

MR. HOUSTON: Probably notified yourself. All right. When was the last meeting that you last attended?

PROFESSOR EBY: I can say sometime in the very end of 1945. It may be—It might have been early in '46. That's the memory, the best I have of it.

MR. HOUSTON: Where did you meet?

PROFESSOR EBY: The last time?

MR. HOUSTON: The last time.

PROFESSOR EBY: **I don't know. It might have been my house, but I wouldn't even swear to that.**

MR. HOUSTON: Who presided at the last meeting you attended?

PROFESSOR EBY: May I make a statement there?

**Refuses to Name Party Associates**

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I would like to get you to remember.

PROFESSOR EBY: I would like to say that Mr. Henry has advised me that, it's his advice that I should answer the questions here; but I find that I couldn't face myself and live any more, if I were to name people that are my friends and associates, who as far as I know are honorable and loyal; and so inevitably this question is coming up, it might as well come up now, that I cannot name anybody.

MR. HOUSTON: **In other words, you are volunteering without being asked, that you are not going to name anyone with whom you were associated in the Communist Party.**

PROFESSOR EBY: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Eby, have you ever sat in Communist Party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

PROFESSOR EBY: You have my answer, sir, on that.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will answer directly to that, "yes" or "no."

PROFESSOR EBY: I am sorry, I feel, as I said, that that would be against my sense of decency to do that.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you refuse to answer that question?

PROFESSOR EBY: I think that I have made my explanation on it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now, I—I have let you deviate there considerably, Dr. Eby, and this question may be answered by "yes" or "no." If you will place the question again.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever sat in Communist Party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

PROFESSOR EBY: My answer is the same as before.

MR. HOUSTON: Is it "yes" or "no"? Or is it that you refuse to answer?

PROFESSOR EBY: **It's that I refuse to answer.**

MR. HOUSTON: **You do refuse to answer the question?**

PROFESSOR EBY: **Yes, sir.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now, I will—so that there may be no misunderstanding about this, Dr. Eby, you understand what the possible penalties for contempt of the Legislature may be?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, that—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You are doing this in full knowledge that the Committee may proceed against you, attempt to have you punished for contempt of the Legislature for refusing to testify?

PROFESSOR EBY: That's preferable to my feeling of—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: And with that in mind, you refuse to testify, refuse to answer the questions of the Committee?

PROFESSOR EBY: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I think you may step aside.



## TESTIMONY OF PROF. RALPH GUNDLACH Psychology Department, University of Washington

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, may the record show the entry of my appearance as counsel for Mr. Gundlach?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that you are Clifford O'Brien.

MR. O'BRIEN: That's correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Clifford O'Brien, as—acting as counsel for Professor Ralph Gundlach.

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I want it understood that I protest to being sworn.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You protest to being sworn? We will still insist on your being sworn. We will take no unsworn testimony at this hearing.

PROFESSOR RALPH H. GUNDLACH, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now let me state that the rules of procedure as set up by this Committee, are that counsel may be in attendance, and counsel may discuss with his client whether or not he should answer. There will be no speeches or arguments made to the Committee. We will expect responsive answers, and little or no deviation from that procedure. Proceed, Mr. Houston.

MR. O'BRIEN: May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I understand the Chairman's instructions fully, but I would like the opportunity to make legal objections to questions put.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There will be no legal objections for the record. Any objections that you have may be taken at such time as are further procedures relative to the hearings here.

MR. O'BRIEN: It is understood I am reserving them now.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do what you wish to, but they are not a pertinent part of this hearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: My name is Ralph H. Gundlach.

MR. HOUSTON: What does the "H" stand for?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: Harrelson.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Gundlach?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I live at 226 Thirty-third, North.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of King County, State of Washington?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I am a resident.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been a resident of this county?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: Probably from either 1920, 1925.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Gundlach, do you believe in the existence of God?

MR. O'BRIEN: Well, I object to that question.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I take this man on point there; he's objected to taking an oath and I want to find out if he is an atheist.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: In spite of that, Mr. Houston, we will not admit that question. The witness need not answer as to his religious beliefs.

MR. O'BRIEN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HOUSTON: The chair is satisfied, then, with the oath?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your profession, Mr. Gundlach?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I am a psychologist.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your employment?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I am employed at the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been so employed?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: Since 1927.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your position there?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I am an associate professor.

### Gundlach Refuses to Answer "Yes" or "No"

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Gundlach, I will ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: Mr. Houston, no Legislative Committee has the right to ask about one's personal beliefs or associations.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be required to answer the question "yes" or "no," instead of making a speech that is totally unresponsive to the question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I permitted that part of his speech with the understanding that we will repeat the question, which may be answered by "yes" or "no" and expect a responsive answer of "yes" or "no."

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Gundlach, I will ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: That is a loaded question, like asking "when did you stop beating your wife?"

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The question is entirely proper in the opinion of this Committee. I will again place the question to you after advising you, if you need to be advised, that this Committee, on your failure to testify or respond to a proper question that the Committee considers proper, will proceed against you to have you punished for contempt of the Legislature, and I wish you to do that with full knowledge. I wish you to proceed with that knowledge.

Now, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I think the question implies subversive activities.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will request a "yes" or "no" answer to that question.

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I rely upon my right to remain silent.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I advise you that it will be the opinion of this Committee that you refuse to testify. Is there any misunderstanding that we have asked you whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

PROFESSOR GUNDLACH: I am willing to testify to any legitimate question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will determine whether or not that is legitimate. If you refuse to answer that question, you may step aside. You are not excused.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, things have proceeded somewhat more rapidly than I anticipated, and we have no further witnesses to go on at this time. I suggest we adjourn until tomorrow morning, unless you have—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess until nine-thirty tomorrow morning.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 a.m., Thursday, July 22, 1948.)

(JULY 22, 1948. 9:30 o'clock a. m.)

Pursuant to adjournment, the hearing was resumed at 9:30 o'clock a. m., July 22, 1948.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. SARAH ELDREDGE

MRS. SARAH ELDREDGE, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Eldredge, this hearing is being recorded, and I will ask that you speak right directly into the microphone and that you don't nod, that you—or answer a question with a gesture, that you speak all your answers; and we will take this easy, now, we know you are ill, but we will just proceed slow and easy.

Will you please state your name?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Sarah N. Eldredge.

MR. HOUSTON: And you live, and are a resident of Seattle?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, for the last fifteen years, at the same address.

MR. HOUSTON: The same address. I will ask you, Mrs. Eldredge, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, for approximately two years, for the last half of 1937, for all of 1938, and about half of 1939, although I was not actively attending unit meetings for the last few months, at the request of the Central Office of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during this period of time you devoted a great deal of your time in working in the Party program, did you not?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I did. I did.

MR. HOUSTON: You devoted practically all of your time, wasn't it?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I hadn't any paying job at the time, and I had a good deal of time to devote to the program.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you also were Vice Chairman of the Democratic Party in this—

MRS. ELDREDGE: I was Vice Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, and head of the Women's Division, and also State Publicity Director for the Western Half of the State, for the Democratic Party.

MR. HOUSTON: And this was all at the time you were a member of the Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, that was from the late 1938, after the convention, which elected me, and I believe that was in the fall of 1938, as I can recollect.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Melvin Rader?

### University Professors Members of Front

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I first met Mr. Rader, who was a teacher at that time, in the Philosophy Department of the University of Washington, at the League Against War and Fascism. That was the title of it at that time. His name was given me as a speaker that I was to secure. Mr. Atkinson gave me this list. That I was to secure to speak at the meetings of the League. Other members were Harold Eby, Dr. Ralph Gundlach, Professor Garland Ethel of the English Department, and several others.

MR. HOUSTON: Now these were—

MRS. ELDREDGE: Also Mr. Pellegrini.

MR. HOUSTON: Also Mr. Pellegrini.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Who gave you—

MRS. ELDREDGE: Mr. N. P. Atkinson, a member of the Communist Party, who was in charge of the program and activities of the League.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you know of your own knowledge that Mr. Atkinson was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Oh, yes. Mr. Atkinson gave me—he was the contact from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who first gave me the address to which I was to go for the first Communist Party meeting I ever attended. That meeting was held in the Paramount Theatre building in the studio of a vocal teacher. I can't recall his name at this time, but others present at the meeting were Hollis Jenkins, was was the Literature Director who went to Spain, in the army of the Republic of Spain later, and Mr. and Mrs. Burt Nelson.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, well, we're not concerned about all that were there, but Mr. Atkinson told you where to go to your first meeting.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Mr. Atkinson told me, and he said, "Greetings, comrade," and he told me at the same time—I said, "You know, Mr. Atkinson, I was terribly surprised to learn that you were a Party member." He said, "Oh, yes, my wife and I have been Party members for some time," and he said, "A lot of people prominent in the progressive movement that you have met today are Party members." He said, "For instance, the Jameses, Burton James and his wife, Florence Bean James," and he gave me the names of several others, who were members of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you call upon Professor Rader to perform services for you?"

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, he spoke, I think, twice.

MR. HOUSTON: Twice.

MRS. ELDREDGE: And along—all on the line, the Communist Party line that they were at that time putting forth through this transmission belt, the League Against War and Fascism.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you—were you—did you hold a position in the League Against War and Fascism?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, at first they asked me to take the notes, the secretary, and then later they asked me if I would be chairman of a group—these were women's groups that met on certain days, weekly. I think the course was seven weeks. I think so; and they also asked me if I would be the—the—go over to the Y. W. C. A. and secure the room, and I did that and signed for the room at the Y. W. C. A.

### Prof. Rader a Willing Tool of Communists

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Mr. Rader write a book along about this time?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Mr. Rader's book at that time—I think in nineteen thirty—I don't think it was published until 1939, but I read it some years ago. It was in manuscript form, and my first contact with the book was at a meeting of the Colored Y. W. C. A. They called it the weekly branch. The chairman of that meeting was an educated, cultured, light colored woman whom I had met in Communist Parties—Party activities previously, and she introduced Mr. Rader, and I had been called by one of my Communist contacts and asked to attend the meeting. They thought that some Caucasian people should go and show their interest, and I attended and several others attended.

Mr. Rader's book was at that time, as I say, in manuscript form, and he

talked from it. He carried out completely the Communist Party line; he—in the book, he—the title, let's see, what is the title? I've forgotten the title of it, but it's—"No Compromise, A Clash of Worlds." I believe that's the title. The title is not quite honest because you put on one side democracy, on the other you expect the—a philosopher who is supposed to examine evidence without bias and to present an unbiased decision, you would naturally put the totalitarian governments of Russia and Fascism on the other side; but nowhere in the book does Mr. Rader put Communism against democracy. **He followed the party line and put the Communist ideology in with the anti-Fascist nations and in with the democracies.**

As a matter of fact, he quotes from the Webbs to advise the reader what a great constitution Russia has, and also infers that the American Constitution is just not quite as good; he weeps over the treatment of the Communists in Spain. As a matter of fact, when I read the book I got the idea that as far as thought content was concerned, the passages on Spain could have been lifted although I do not say they were lifted, but I mean as far as thought content was concerned, it could have been lifted from the current Communist Party literature.

MR. HOUSTON: What happened to this book in 1939?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Well, when—the book was acclaimed when it came out, by the Communist press, and ads for it appeared in the "New World," I believe, and I heard the ad also appeared in the "Daily Worker." I don't have a copy of the "Daily Worker" so I don't know. It was acclaimed and he made many talks against Fascism, but never putting Communism in as a totalitarian, but always following the same line of subtle approbation of the Communist ideology; and in nineteen—after the Russian and Fascist states got together, Hitler and Stalin, Mr. Rader was caught with his book, and he—there was a quietus put on the book immediately. I think if you will examine the records, you will discover that he made no talks against Fascism after that; and some of us wondered if this "daring young man on the flying trapeze" would somersault with the rest of them, and he certainly did. He came out with—for their peace line, for anti-mobilization, and for all of the Communist line activities.

If you do the work of the Communist Party, whether or not you carry a Communist Party card, I don't think it would make any difference; as a matter of fact, the policy of the Communist Party is that leading Communists do not carry cards. Many leading Communists do not attend unit meetings. Many—they can be more valuable if they do not attend Communist Party meetings. As a matter of fact, I was requested by the Communist Party Central Committee to not attend my unit meetings any further, and I—

MR. HOUSTON: That was while you were this high official in the Democratic Party.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, while I was an official of the Democratic Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during all this period of time you made no request, or you called on Mr. Rader, he didn't refuse to do anything you asked him to do, did he?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Never.

MR. HOUSTON: And you were furthering the Communist Party line at the time?

MRS. ELDREDGE: We were.

MR. HOUSTON: And he was an instrument that could be used?

MRS. ELDREDGE: He was a powerful instrument. I doubt if any thousand Communists working daily, could have reached the people with this softening-up ideal—ideal that he had in his book, as he did by writing that book.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you ever sit in any Party meetings with Mr. Rader?

MRS. ELDREDGE: No closed Party unit meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, you have no evidence and you are not making the charge that Mr. Rader was a Communist.

MRS. ELDREDGE: I'm not making that statement that Mr. Rader was an actual member of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: But he did their bidding and—

MRS. ELDREDGE: But he did their business, and other work, and as Mr. Walter Winchell says, "When you see a bird that looks like a duck, walks like a duck, and quacks like a duck, it's a duck."

### Knew Prof. Butterworth as a Communist

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you, Mrs. Eldredge, do you know a man by the name of Joseph Butterworth?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I know Mr. Butterworth and his wife, Dorothy Butterworth, who has passed away, very well. I attended numerous meetings of Communists officials of the Communist Women's Commission, at their house.

**I also attended a meeting at the Butterworth's house at which Morris Rapoport and Mr. Costigan and Mr. DeLacy cracked down on me because I was not putting Communist women into places of importance in the Democratic Party set-up.**

I knew that Dorothy and her husband were Communists from the very first day that I was approached by the contact who brought me into the Party, because Mrs. Lillian LaMotte, who brought me into the Party, told me so. Mrs. Butterworth was to—almost my entire contact with the Central Committee; she called me two or three times a week and sometimes daily to give me messages and I thought a great deal of Dorothy Butterworth—a great deal.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you meet Earl Browder in the Butterworth home?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I did not meet him, but he was a guest there. Dorothy called me up the next day and told me. She said how her husband was kidding her because she kept the empty cigarette package which Browder had left on the ash tray as a souvenir and her husband Joe was kidding her about it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you have attended meetings of Communist Party women's group in her—their home, have you not?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, Women's Commission. Several times I met women there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did—was Mr. Butterworth present at any of these meetings?

MRS. ELDREDGE: He—frequently he was in the house somewhere else, but he would come in and pass through the room or stick his head in and say "hello."

MR. HOUSTON: There's no question in your—is there any question in your mind?

MRS. ELDREDGE: No question. Never been any question about Joe Butterworth. They were—Dorothy was considerably worried and she called me a number of times—how worried both she and Joe were that he gave so much attention to his Communist Party work that he didn't have time to work on his Doctor's—he did not have a Doctor's degree and they both felt that—especially she, that teaching without a Doctor's degree was dangerous to his advancement.

### Says Prof. Jacobs and Wife Were Communists

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of Melville Jacobs?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I met his wife before I met him.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that Elizabeth Jacobs?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Elizabeth—Bess Jacobs, we called her. She was assigned to go to see the Boettigers one afternoon with me about the Women's—about integrating these Progressive Women; that's what they called the Communist Party Women who were in the Commonwealth Federation into the Democratic Party set-up. And then I met Mr. Jacobs first at—well there was a medical conference that the Communists cooked up to support state medicine; if you remember there was a measure before the National Congress on state medicine, and all over the United States they had these medical conferences cooked up by the Communists to whip up enthusiasm for state medicine. And this conference was held in the Washington Hotel—the medical conference. Doctors were there and they honestly supposed that the conference was about medical help and they talked on different medical subjects. Of course that was not the purpose of the conference; it was to get you a lot of resolutions supporting this measure in Congress—and there is where I met Melville Jacobs. He was appointed as head of the Continuations Committee, and the first meeting of the Continuations Committee—

MR. HOUSTON: That's a continuation of what?

MRS. ELDREDGE: A Continuations Committee is a conference. They set up a Continuations Committee which was to ostensibly carry out the measures that were advocated by the conference.

I met Melville Jacobs there again, and he—I think that he—I—just was introduced as Dr. Jacobs and I at the time didn't get the connection between he and Bess Jacobs, and I said: "Are you a medical man, Dr. Jacobs?" He said: "No, Sarah, I am a new Comrade and this is my first assignment."

MR. HOUSTON: Now—

MRS. ELDREDGE: So, I knew from that—of course, I had heard from other people, but he definitely told me that he was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, when was that, Mrs. Eldridge? Can you give us an approximate date?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Well, that was about three or four weeks after that conference. Now, I think the conference was in May, 1939. I think the conference was that time, I can't be sure of the date but it's announced in the daily papers and there's considerable record of it in the Commonwealth paper.

**Says Prof. Eby Was a Communist**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Professor Harold Eby?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, Mr. Eby was on the list of speakers approved by the Communist Party to appear before the League Against War and Fascism. Mr. Eby spoke, I think, two or three times.

MR. HOUSTON: And did you receive any information from Communist Party sources or members?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, they told me at the Butterworth house one time; Dorothy and others were speaking of Mr. Eby and **they said he was the brains of the Policy Forming Committee in the Communist Party, here, that he really did great work.** I also met him several times at the board meetings of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

You see that while the Communist line is the same all over the world, to translate that line into local activity requires this Policy Forming Board and Mr. Eby was always called in on important questions, they told me.

MR. HOUSTON: Is there any question in your mind, from your working with him—

MRS. ELDREDGE: No question whatsoever in my mind—

MR. HOUSTON: But that he—

MRS. ELDREDGE: That he was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Did Mr. Atkinson also refer to Mr. Eby ever in your conversations with him?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, he did. He said that Mr. Eby was a party member, and a valuable party member.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know Mr. Eby's wife, Lenna?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I think I met her but I do not recall.

**Prof. Ethel Active for Communism**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Garland Ethel?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, Mr. Ethel, Professor Ethel was on the list and he spoke once before the League of—Against War and Fascism, which, after the peace pact between Russia and Germany, was changed to the League for Peace and Democracy, same thing in different words, that's all, and the—Mr. Ethel was given to me as a man to call at any time I needed resolutions properly phrased or anything of that kind. I remember the Communist Party hopped on the "draft Roosevelt" bandwagon and they started passing resolutions, "draft Roosevelt."

I want—the—we had a large meeting of the Democratic Women's Division, about 600 women were present and we wished to put over a resolution from this group of women of the Democratic Party asking for a draft of Roosevelt.

**Now to properly phrase the resolution so that it would include—so not only to draft Roosevelt but include the reason for which the Communist Party uh—were backing him, I called Mr. Ethel and he phrased the resolution properly.**

MR. HOUSTON: **He did perform this service for you?**

MRS. ELDREDGE: **He did, yes.**

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have any information as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Oh, yes. We—he was frequently referred to as a Communist Party Member.

MR. HOUSTON: Was he referred to as a worker?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, as a worker, especially as a worker—especially in political organizations in the section in which he lived. **In other words, each legislative section of the county has a group of Communists spearheading it and he was always in his section doing spearheading work.**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a man by the name of Ralph Gundlach?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes. Mr. Gundlach was a member of the division of the professional unit to which I belong for some time. I—

MR. HOUSTON: That's a division of the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: —a short time. Of the Communist Party. He stopped coming to meetings and of course, I didn't know why so I met him on the bus one day and I said, **"We haven't seen you lately."** He said, **"Oh, no,"** he said, **"didn't you know I had been assigned by the Communist Party to especially work on the Spanish Medical Work"** and I believe Mr. Gundlach's name is prominently listed on both national and state letterheads from this group.

**Burton and Florence B. James Active in Communist Party**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a Burton James?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I know Mr. Burton James and Mrs. Florence Bean James. The unit to which I belonged, the professional unit, and—was not as valuable to the Communist Party in many ways as working units were because we were sorta protected and cut off but we did participate in money-raising schemes, **and the big thing we did was the Cafe Society which we did in conjunction and cooperation with Florence Bean James and Burton James and the Playhouse Communist Unit.** We discussed—a committee from our unit went to their unit and discussed the plans, and I was not on the committee, but they reported back to our unit just what the James—playhouse unit would furnish in the way of entertainment, then when—after the Cafe Society which was held in the basement of the Washington Hotel—after it was over and the settlement of the money came about, there were many—oh, three or four long, drawn out discussions in our regular unit meeting of how the money was to be divided.

The Communist Party felt that as it was Communist money, Communist raising money scheme, that talent should be donated free and money should all go to the Communist Party but Mr. James and Mrs. James felt that some of it belonged to them and they arrived at a settlement, I understand, where they did get some portion.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, it was your—

MRS. ELDREDGE: And then also I—further, in the James' matter, at that time the women's division at one meeting of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party, the question was brought up that we were building Florence Bean James for a job and that job was for her to run for the legislature, and I was asked if I could not secure some speaking dates. Uh—I did and Florence Bean James came to a meeting of the Women's Division of the Democratic Party held in the Railway Exchange Building and spoke and was quite well received. She spoke on the state theater and other allied and connected matters and I—I think I secured her about three other speaking dates.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you were instructed to secure—

MRS. ELDREDGE: **I was instructed to secure those dates by the Women's Commission of the Communist Party; to build Florence Bean James at the same time that I was—that I was instructed to build Jesse Epstein.**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you have testified that in your unit meetings a committee was appointed to meet—

MRS. ELDREDGE: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: —with the unit at the Repertory Playhouse.

MRS. ELDREDGE: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: There was a unit —

MRS. ELDREDGE: **There was a unit in the Repertory Playhouse.**

MR. HOUSTON: That's a unit of the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, sir, used the playhouse for—also for memorial services for Americans who had fallen in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain and among those fallen people, those who died and didn't come back, were Esther May's husband, and also the son of an attorney by the name of Summers, here. I don't recall the boy's first name. Those were two that I—that I remembered—it was '38.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you receive any instructions from Mr. Atkinson who gave—he practically gave most of your instructions to you, didn't he?

MRS. ELDREDGE: He transmitted all of the instructions for the League Against War and Fascism and when I was inducted into the party I was told by the party who inducted me, Lillian LaMotte, that Mr. Atkinson had asked for me, i.e., leading Communists could ask for certain workers and sometimes they got them. He had asked for me because he felt that I was valuable, and said no doubt your assignments will be to work in the League with Mr. Atkinson because he had asked for me and that was my first assignment in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Mr. Atkinson ever give you any instructions or tell you anything about the Jameses or tell you how you could use them?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Uh—Mr. Atkinson told me they were Communists and anytime I needed—you know, if the League put on any public affairs where they needed programs that I was to have no, you know, qualms of conscience about asking them to furnish—

MR. HOUSTON: Because they were members?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Because they were members—to furnish entertainment.

### Identifies Others as Communists

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you do you know a man by the name of Al Ottenheimer?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Uh—he was—Mr. Ottenheimer was, I believe, in the role of assistant, I don't know whether that was his role then. I think his role was mostly publicity in those days in the Playhouse. He was referred to as a Communist Party member but I didn't meet him in a unit meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of H. J. Phillips?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Well, I never knew his initials, I just knew him as "Scoop."

MR. HOUSTON: Scoop Phillips.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Scoop Phillips. I—Mr. Phillips was an instructor in

the Philosophy Department along with Mr. Rader and Dr. Nelson. Now Dr. Nelson, as far as I know, never had any connection, whatsoever, with the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that Doc Everett Nelson?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I believe that's his middle name. I just know him as Dr. Nelson.

The head of the department was William Savery. A great man, a great mind, and I certainly bow in reverence to his memory. He passed on and he had—in the last years of his teaching life he had—uh—uh—to take his pupils at home and he had no idea of the Communist goings on in the Philosophy Department. As a matter of fact, once over the telephone he told me that he was much chagrined and hurt over the fact that Communists were in his department because I called him up and told him and asked him what his reaction was. He was a true philosopher and would never take anything by the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, uh—well, what information did you secure from official sources of the Party concerning Mr. Phillips, if any?

MRS. ELDREDGE: We discussed him and the great work he was doing in the Philosophy Department in the way of teaching and softening up—that—that softening part is vital to recruiting. All these little hints which are given out by those who are doing the work of the Communist Party suggesting that we have no real evidence of the existence of God and suggesting that the Communist Constitution is more liberal than ours and in the suggestion when they list Jesus Christ they say, as Mr. Rader did in his book, according to the words of Buddha, Spinoza, Christ, etc., etc., thus and so.

Going back to the book it's not philosophically honest because he admits that Christ existed but he doesn't admit that some people think he is God of the Communists.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you mentioned a man by the name of Jesse Epstein.

MRS. ELDREDGE: **Yes, I met Jesse Epstein as a member of the unit to which I was attached at the home of John Caughlan. He was—I met him there, I met him also in a unit meeting, and while I'm on the subject of unit meeting I noticed that some witnesses have said they understood people who attended unit meetings were Communists. There is no understanding if and, or buts, about it, if you meet anyone in a Communist unit meeting you have met a Communist Party member. The Communist unit is the sacred holy of holies of the Communist Party member and no one may attend but a Communist Party member.**

MR. HOUSTON: Now you met Mr. Epstein during this unit meeting?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Was this the professional unit of the Communists?

MRS. ELDREDGE: This was the professional—a meeting of the professional unit of the Communist Party, the section of it to which I was assigned.

### Recounts Epstein Hearing

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mrs. Eldredge, you—did you testify in a loyalty hearing held by the Federal Public Housing Administration on Jesse Epstein?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I did. It was held in the central committee—the Central Building, I was called to—a couple of days before that a man called

me up in the evening and said he represented the Loyalty Commission, I believe it was, and he said we were interested in the testimony you gave concerning the alleged membership of Jesse Epstein in the Communist Party. He said, "We are here for a hearing, a closed hearing and we wondered if you would be willing to make a statement." I said, "Yes," I would make such a statement, and so—I think he called me two days before, if I remember rightly—so, he gave me the time. It was to be fifteen minutes after four, and I arrived at the Central Building fifteen minutes after four, and the witness who was to precede me, Kathryn Fogg, still had not been heard, so he said, "Well, the other speaker is still talking," and we waited in a very warm room, and finally Kathryn was taken in and it got later and later, and it took her quite a while to give her evidence, and then Mr. Stern, who was in charge of the witnesses, came out and said, "Well, now," he says, "it's getting pretty late. Perhaps you'd better come tomorrow," and I said, "Well, as far as I'm concerned, I've sat here this long, I'd rather give my testimony tonight because it is very difficult for me to get away from my position tomorrow," and he said, "Well, I'll go back and see if the board will hear you tonight," and he went back and he came back and he said, "Yes, they agreed to hear you now."

And so, it was late, I was very tired after an eight-hour or more day, and it was warm and the—and I was nervous, because I had been waiting so long; so, I went into the room, and there were—there was this long table here, and along this side of the table sat the committee; over here, Jesse Epstein; here his attorney; here his assistant; and back of him, a woman who—to make notes for him, and back—the lady who took the notes sat here; and directly in back of me, another one of their assistants; and I gave the committee my testimony, but first, before I gave my testimony, the attorney for Mr. Epstein says, "I would like to ask this witness a question before the testimony is given."

So, they conferred—the committee conferred a little, and they said, "Well, it's a little out of order, but you may ask the witness the question," and he said, "Did you ever see me before?" I said, "No, as far as I know, I don't think I met you before." He says, "You're sure you never met me before?" I said, "No," oh, I—I thought that he might have been an F.B.I. man who had called on me, that he might have been a former Communist who was just asking me this to puzzle me; and he said, "You're sure you never met me?" I said, "Well, years bring changes, and I might have met you some years ago and have forgotten what you looked like, but I don't think I met you before," and he said, "Do you mean to say you never met me before, and yet you accuse me, Jesse Epstein, of being a member of the Communist Party?" I said, "Oh, no, that's Jesse Epstein." So—

MR. HOUSTON: Now, this entrapment occurred at an official board meeting?

MRS. ELDREDGE: It did.

MR. HOUSTON: Of an official loyalty board?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Of an official loyalty board.

MR. HOUSTON: Did any one of the committee, loyalty committee, make any protest about this entrapment?

MRS. ELDREDGE: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you approached by anybody other than representatives of the Federal Government about your testifying in this loyalty hearing?

MRS. ELDREDGE: About testifying?

MR. HOUSTON: Uh-huhm.

MRS. ELDREDGE: No.

MR. HOUSTON: So no attorneys for Jesse Epstein approached you?

MRS. ELDREDGE: No—oh, at the hearing they cross-examined me for a long time.

MR. HOUSTON: They cross-examined you for a long time.

MRS. ELDREDGE: And while this was going on, to confuse me and make me nervous, they had loads of scrap books and this girl that was sitting in back of me, and the girl that was sitting in back of his attorney, and his assistant attorney, I presume it was an attorney, kept writing notes and passing it to him back and forth, and just in every way trying to confuse me.

MR. HOUSTON: Did—had you told them that you had blood pressure of over two hundred points and that you considered it was quite a risk for you to testify in a public hearing?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Well, I don't think I told Mr. Stern that.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't know whether he knew that or not?

MRS. ELDREDGE: I don't know whether he knew that or not.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, your testimony is today that Jesse Epstein was a member of the Communist Party.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Jesse Epstein was certainly a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: And this—

MRS. ELDREDGE: The Party instructed me to get him, to build him for that job, and he appeared—although he said in the newspaper he, at the last hearing, that he had never met me, he most certainly did, many times. He appeared before the Women's Division of the Democratic Party in the Railway Exchange Building, and I could name twenty people off my list at least, who could get up and swear he—that I introduced him, and what he said about housing, and so forth.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded my examination of this witness, and unless the Committee has some other questions, I suggest that she be excused from subpoena, with the thanks of the Committee for being here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We thank you for appearing, Mrs. Eldredge, and you are now excused from attendance at the hearing.

(Witness Excused)



**TESTIMONY OF HOWARD F. SMITH**

HOWARD F. SMITH, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Smith, you have heard the instructions that have been given to the previous witnesses, have you not, as to the method of testifying?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. SMITH: Howard F. Smith.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Smith?

MR. SMITH: 1612 Boylston Avenue.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the city of Seattle?

MR. SMITH: Since—18 years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your business, Mr. Smith?

MR. SMITH: Oh, I'm a rancher and hotel operator.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Smith, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Six months before the war was declared, World War II.

MR. HOUSTON: What was that, now?

MR. SMITH: Six months before World War II was declared, I think I joined the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: About the middle of 1941 then, would that be about right?

MR. SMITH: I think it was in August.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, when did you leave the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: I left, I think, in '46.

MR. HOUSTON: Nineteen hundred and forty-six.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, at the previous hearing of this Committee you put into exhibit your membership card, did you not?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you, Mr. Smith, if you know a man by the name of Ralph H. Gundlach.

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you state the circumstances of your meeting Mr. Gundlach?

MR. SMITH: I—I met him at the Gold Room of the Roosevelt Hotel.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh, huh! And was there a meeting being held in this room?

MR. SMITH: Yes, that was the Victory Forum held by the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

MR. HOUSTON: Was he connected with the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

**Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee Characterized  
As Undercover Organization**

MR. SMITH: Yes, he was because when I came there I was told by the Communist Party to stay away from there—that that was kind of an under-

cover layout but I went anyhow and they signed me up for a year. Some girl that was—I noticed Communist girls were at the desk and so I bought a membership in the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee for a year.

MR. HOUSTON: And paid your money there?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, at that meeting did you meet Mr. Gundlach?

MR. SMITH: I might say—I attended a good many of those meetings and he was always there—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, then if you—that's where you first—

MR. SMITH: Well, his name was on this card that I was a member of the—he was the head person of that organization.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Smith, do you know Mr. Gundlach personally?

MR. SMITH: No, I don't.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't?

MR. SMITH: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Then someone told you this man here was Gundlach, then?

MR. SMITH: I think somebody introduced me.

MR. HOUSTON: I could be all wrong, then. We might as well forget any testimony about Mr. Gundlach, then.

MR. SMITH: I don't know him as a chum—I know him as the head of the Anti-Refugee Committee and I was introduced to him one time.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, then you were introduced to him one time.

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Joseph Butterworth?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Professor Joseph Butterworth personally?

MR. HOUSTON: Well, if there's any doubt or hesitation, Smitty, there's no—Mr. Smith, I don't want any testimony, because—

MR. SMITH: Well, what made you think there was any doubt?

MR. HOUSTON: Well, you're hesitating.

MR. SMITH: Well, all witnesses don't act the same, do they?

Joseph Butterworth was the fellow I saw in the Communist Party meetings for a long time and I didn't know who he was, I thought he was a—he looked like a fellow needed a bath, and he was from the skidroad until I asked one of the fellows, "Who is that character?"

And he said: "Why, that's a professor at the University," and I wouldn't believe him and then I saw him at different drinking parties; saw him at plenums of the Communist Party; saw him at the leadership training class of the Communist Party, and I was amazed that the University of Washington would have such a teacher—th—the—the man looked like he had got in there by mistake.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you mentioned that you saw him at the Communist Party plenums. Was that the closed Communist Party plenums?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Could anybody have been in attendance that was not a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend these plenums as a delegate?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you carry credentials from some unit to this plenum?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir. I explained that in the last hearing if you want me to explain it again—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, sir, quite briefly.

MR. SMITH: The—I was Executive Secretary of a branch that was told at headquarters that they would have a plenum.

The plenum would be held at the Victory Hall at this particular time; that I would have an election in my branch and elect delegates, alternate delegates, and if any visitors, bring their names. These names of these delegates and alternate delegates I took to headquarters and they tabulated them; they wrote them down on a piece of paper. Then they said: "All right, Smitty, bring those people to the plenum; tell them to come."

Then when you came to the plenum you were tabulated and three girls stood at a table. The first girl asked you: "What's your name, what branch you from?" Then the—then the delegate—alternate delegate told them:

"I'm from branch 430 or 30—350."

She looked to see if his name was there. If his name was there she passed the man to the next delegate.

The next girl that sat at the table, and she asked them the same question and if his name appeared as a delegate, they pinned the delegate's card on him, and proceeded into the—after passing the third girl who inspected it. Three persons you had to pass and now I got the scholarship from the—from the Worker's School to attend one of these plenums and I didn't have the proper credentials so when I came up to these girls they just tell me to take a powder—that they didn't know me, so I saw somebody inside and—and—I motioned to them to come out and they took about half an hour to get in there so don't ever kid yourself that you get in a plenum unless you are—you're not only an authorized member of the Communist Party, you're supposed to be there, it's a must. You're a delegate, alternate delegate, or a visitor and a visitor is only there by orders from the headquarters of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, it was at one of these secret plenums that you saw Joe Butterworth, is that right?

MR. SMITH: At several of the—

MR. HOUSTON: At several of them.

MR. SMITH: —secret plenums.

### Communist School

MR. HOUSTON: Now, this—this leadership training class that you attended, was this restricted to Communists also?

MR. SMITH: After you had studied in the Communist Party and gone through all the schools you were invited to attend the leadership training class. You couldn't attend it unless you were invited and you were invited by the headquarters, the national Executive Secretary.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you were invited to attend one of these classes, is that right?

MR. SMITH: No, I was instructed—I was invited and then I was instructed to attend it—th—th—if you didn't attend it you'd be made fun of before the class. That was a—a frameup to attend it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you did attend it, then—

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —at their instructions.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you see anybody there you knew?

MR. SMITH: Yes, Henry Huff, Carl Reeves—

MR. HOUSTON: Well—let's not name a group of people—

MR. SMITH: They were the teachers.

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, they were the teachers?

MR. SMITH: Yeah!

MR. HOUSTON: Uh, huh! Did you see anybody there th—as a student that you knew?

MR. SMITH: Well, if you are referring to Butterworth, I saw him there.

MR. HOUSTON: Butterworth was there.

MR. SMITH: I might say that these leadership training classes—the—the highest secrecy was there, they talked to—, they talked on the Marx theory, they talked on the national question, they talked on the international question and each person at that plenum was understood to be a highly trusted Party member and that what you heard in that plenum was for yourself.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you're talk—now you're talking about the training class or the—

MR. SMITH: Leadership training class.

MR. HOUSTON: The leadership training class.

MR. SMITH: That was to give you the inside story of what the program of the Communist Party was and you were to later use that on—but you didn't tell everybody what you—what you—behind the scene. That was behind the curtain.

MR. HOUSTON: That's where they let their hair down—

MR. SMITH: They all let their hair down behind there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, is there any question in your mind whether Mr. Butterworth was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: No, there was no question. Mr. Butterworth, I watched him very closely because he looked like a peculiar character, he wheezed and he ha—he looked crumby and he seemed to be especially catered to by the highest Communist so I wondered if he wasn't putting on an act and I'd been on many drinking parties with him and I had tried to get under his skin but he was too smart and he was there hob-nobbing with all the high people that I considered high in the Communist Party and I figu—I could never figure him out, he was a question mark to me.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, have you ever attended any meetings of the District Executive Committee of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You haven't?

MR. SMITH: I have attended meetings, district meetings of the Executive Secretary.

MR. HOUSTON: Of the Executive Secretary.

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you describe one of those meetings? What do you do when you get there?

MR. SMITH: You get notified from headquarters that they are going to have an Executive Secretary meeting of all the branches of King County at Victory Hall, that's headquarters of the Communist Party and you go to—say seven o'clock tonight. There you'll meet all of the Executive Secretaries of all the branches of the—King County, if it is King County, if it's the State of Washington, you'll meet them from the State of Washington, if it's a northwest district you'll meet all of them from the northwest district, but we usually—we took King County.

### Butterworth an Executive Secretary of Communist Party

And I saw Butterworth there and each Executive Secretary would give a diagnosis of his branch, as to recruiting; maybe they'd call you in there about recruiting, maybe they'd tell you about dues, or control, or some function that was coming on; and at these meetings you would get instructed by the Executive Secretary of King County, who was usually and has been, Barbara Hartle, and here they would give these Executive Secretaries instructions from the higher up people in the Communist Party, what you were to do in your branch.

This was—nobody but Executive Secretaries would be there, and Treasurers. Then you'd go back to your branch and tell them what you wanted to.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you see Professor Butterworth at these meetings?

MR. SMITH: Yes, I saw Professor Butterworth at these meetings, and he—each one would get—this was ah—reporting on recruits. At this time, I think Carl Reeves reported that he had been to Spokane and had gotten twenty-three recruits, and another one from another branch had got four or five, and I reported how many I got, and Butterworth got up and reported that his branch reported no recruits.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was this meeting restricted to the secretaries of the different units?

MR. SMITH: Oh, yes, nobody wandered into it. Nobody in the Communist Party ever wandered into other meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you attend a county-wide meeting of the Communist Political Association, when the Political Association was in existence?

MR. SMITH: Yes, that was—that was a plenum.

MR. HOUSTON: That was a plenum.

MR. SMITH: Yeah.

MR. HOUSTON: Can you give us approximately the date of this?

MR. SMITH: I don't know, I—I attended many of them.

MR. HOUSTON: You attended many of them?

MR. SMITH: I haven't any notes. I have many notes, but I didn't bring any notes with me.

### Kept Notes on Many Communist Meetings

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you made these notes shortly after and during the course of the time you were a member of the Communist Party, is that right?

MR. SMITH: I made notes on seven hundred meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: On seven hundred meetings.

MR. SMITH: Yes, and every thing that took place and every person that attended those meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you recall attending a county-wide meeting when Heinie Huff was sick, and Carl Reeves presided?

MR. SMITH: Yes, they said Heinie Huff had cost the Party fifteen hundred dollars to get him out of "hock." He owed a doctor bill, or something. They—they'd operated on him, and he had to pay fifteen hundred dollars, so we had to raise some more money.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall—did you see anybody there you knew?

MR. SMITH: I saw Butterworth there.

MR. HOUSTON: Joseph Butterworth was at this meeting?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was this, again, a closed Communist Party meeting?

MR. SMITH: Oh, yes. This was a plenum.

MR. HOUSTON: This was a plenum. Now, in the fall of 1934, did you attend a class sponsored by the Communist Party at the Workers' School?

MR. SMITH: Yes, in the day.

MR. HOUSTON: That's 1944. Did I say '34?

MR. SMITH: '44. I attended many schools at different places. I attended them—there was a Swedish club, the Bay Building, and at Communist Headquarters, Victory Hall.

MR. HOUSTON: The—when you refer to Communist Headquarters, do you mean 910½ Third Avenue?

MR. SMITH: Yes. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall attending a class there when Ralph Hall was the instructor?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, did you see anybody there you knew?

MR. SMITH: Yes, Butterworth attended that class.

MR. HOUSTON: And Joseph Butterworth was there, too, then?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was this class restricted to Communist Party members, also?

MR. SMITH: Yes, I never saw anybody in any of those classes, that—

MR. HOUSTON: You had to be a Communist to get in, is that what you are trying to say?

MR. SMITH: The leadership, or anybody.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Phil Davis?

MR. SMITH: Phil Davis was the fellow I seen around in early times, around—he was kind of a shadow, all around there. I'd saw him around different movements in Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Oh, I've been told so, and I—I looked up his record one time, he was a doubtful character, but I couldn't ever—I never sat in any meetings with him.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know a man by the name of H. J. Phillips?

MR. SMITH: In the same category. I—I knew he was connected with the Communist Party.

### Party Backs Florence Bean James for School Board

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend any sessions of the Northwest Labor School in December of 1946 and January of 1947?

MR. SMITH: I don't think so. I wasn't in the Communist Party then.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know a woman by the name of Florence Bean James?

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you know Mrs. James?

MR. SMITH: I knew her as the lady who run the Repertory Playhouse.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you have any business transactions with her?

MR. SMITH: Oh, I used to go to the Repertory Playhouse quite a bit, and I know when she—was running for the School Board, I was the Executive Secretary of Branch 430, and Barbara Hartle had given me a lot of pamphlets that she was going to run—she was the Executive Secretary of King County—that she was going to run for the School Board, and I had these piles of pamphlets ready to shoot out, and all at once she said, "Don't give out any pamphlets, Smitty, we're going to run James for the School Board," and so then I had a new set of pamphlets; it was Florence Bean James for the School Board.

So, I didn't deliver any right away, and the next I heard from her she came out to the Branch and said could she hold a political meeting out there. I says, "Well, I guess you could," and she came out and talked, and then her daughter—company had come over to their house, she lived over down—down the bank from where the—over there somewhere, I think it was Howell Street, or somewhere, I forget the address; but I went over, and her daughter and I delivered her pamphlets all over the Forty-third District.

I asked in headquarters about Florence Bean James, she says, "She's all right."

MR. HOUSTON: Well, you asked in headquarters of what?

MR. SMITH: I says, "Who is this character who wants me to deliver pamphlets?" I had delivered so many pamphlets I got dizzy. I'd covered the waterfront for years, and here was another one, and I was kind of mad because I had these others and I got a new batch. So I went down and I asked, "Who is this Florence Bean James?" And she says, "Well, she's all right, she's one of our brothers and sisters from the Repertory Playhouse."

MR. HOUSTON: Now this was at the Communist Party headquarters that you went and asked who she was?

MR. SMITH: Yes. Yes, I didn't do nothing without orders.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you mentioned that her daughter and you delivered them over the Forty-third District, is that right?

MR. SMITH: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was the daughter a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Yes, I think she was out in 325, Branch 325.

MR. HOUSTON: Did she hold any position? Did she subsequently become the Executive Secretary?

MR. SMITH: Yeah, I heard she crowded me out there.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, she succeeded you as Secretary of your branch, is that—

MR. SMITH: Well, it's funny in the Communist Party if I can take a moment to tell you, between all this seriousness. In the Communist Party they work you to death, and they figure in three years you're no good, you couldn't even testify against them, you're worn out; and they had me run a—handle the waterfront, the distribution of pamphlets for years. That didn't kill me off, so then they tried to educate me, and they sent me to school in leadership training classes, and I was always a kind of a stumble-bum in there, because I had the—I was living in a vacuum, I had to fool them, and you can't get caught in the Communist Party, they'll clip you.

I made them mad and when I left the Communists they still thought I was pretty good, but I was third degreed many times in the Communist Party; and it's a peculiar situation you get into.

MR. HOUSTON: All right. Now, did Mrs. James ever speak at your branch of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Yes, she spoke on her candidacy for the School Board.

MR. HOUSTON: But this was a closed branch meeting of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: And she knew that when she spoke there.

MR. SMITH: It was in Rev. Edminston's house up on—up on Summit Avenue. He was a preacher, he preached by day, and attended Communist meetings by night. He was a kind of a "crackpot" that had got the Communist "bug."

### Says Repertory Playhouse "Was Their Baby"

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how did the Communist Party regard the Repertory Playhouse?

MR. SMITH: That was—that was their "baby."

MR. HOUSTON: Their "baby." Well, what kind of films did they say they could see out there?

MR. SMITH: Well, the Repertory Playhouse, a branch of the Communist Party, consisted of all the actors and actresses, and they always were at these main meetings of the Communist Party, and they were always selling tickets to the Repertory Playhouse, and if you didn't show up there you wasn't a very good Communist, and they served coffee, and showed you films of the Great Soviet Union. They showed films in the Polish Hall, the Finnish Hall, all the labor union halls they could get into, and always of the Soviet Union.

MR. HOUSTON: If—were you able to take prospective members of the Communist Party back stage and introduce them to—

MR. SMITH: Not back stage, no, I—

MR. HOUSTON: What?

MR. SMITH: Not back stage. Oh, you had reference to a meeting I had back stage one time.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, tell us about it.

MR. SMITH: Well,—

MR. HOUSTON: Very briefly.

MR. SMITH: —they were always—I think they used me because I give them—I give them donations all the time, not for any ability I had. They were after—they used me for a "sucker," and they invited me to many of these things, and this particular time they invited me to attend a—hootenanny be—

MR. HOUSTON: This might be a good moment, before we go into any such discussion, if we could to have a recess. I think we are pretty well along in this thing.

MR. HEWITT: I would like to make a motion. First, I wish to state I understand that forces beyond your control will cause certain things to happen. However, as servants of the government, coming here to Washington, I know the seriousness of a hearing of this nature. Therefore, and I would like to propose that either a retraction or a rejection of the remark "nigger," used by the witness, be publicly stated for record by the leadership of your legislature.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to concur.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: **I think the point is well taken, Mr. Holmes. I am certain the witness did not intend that slur upon the Negro race, under the heat and tension of testifying perhaps such things happen and we were going to ask that that be stricken from the record, and also the reference to a church there that had no bearing on the testimony.**

MR. HOUSTON: I think it would be in order for the witness to apologise at this time. I am sure he did not mean—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I am certain that the witness did not intend to refer to the Negro race in a way that is objectionable to them and most people, and I would appreciate, and I think Mr. Smith would appreciate the opportunity to say that is not what he had in mind.

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Chairman, is the record to be falsified?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will hear no more from Mr. Caughlan. If we have any more trouble from you we will take care of the situation in a most direct manner. Now we are taking up a question here which created an unfortunate impression, and we do not want this hearing to develop that sort of thing. It is not the intention of this hearing to slur any people, or race, or church. We are trying to get at the facts. We cannot control entirely the vernacular of a witness. We don't wish to do that, nor do we wish to encourage anything of that kind, and I am certain Mr. Smith would like to retract that. If not we will at least suggest that a notation be put in the record to that effect.

MR. SMITH: I would like to ask you and this committee why you are so afraid to have me testify?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think we better dispense with this—we feel that an unfortunate reference to the Negro people was made; that it is not the wish of this committee that that sort of thing be done, and the record will show that we disapprove of that particular allusion, and we will let the record stand as it is now, if you wish to go on with the witness. Otherwise we will dispense with it.

MR. HOUSTON: No, I suggest we recess.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We'll be in recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

### Chairman Canwell Advises Caughlan

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before you call your first witness I wish to make a statement for the record regarding one John Caughlan.

MR. CAUGHLAN: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be seated, Mr. Caughlan.

Mr. Caughlan has been permitted to appear here as counsel for some of the principals named in this hearing. He has been advised specifically what his standing is in that regard. Personally, Mr. Caughlan was mentioned many times as a Communist Party member in our former hearing. He at the present time is under indictment for perjury in the federal court. If he persists in trying to disrupt these hearings he will be removed, regardless of his—the wish of his clients to represent them.

We are not going to tolerate a typical Communist demonstration or disturbance at this hearing. We have gone far beyond what we feel we should do in permitting Mr. Caughlan to disrupt these hearings. Personally, before this Committee, he has no standing as an attorney or as a citizen, or as a man. We have a very poor regard of Mr. Caughlan, but we are permitting him to represent his client here but only on the terms which we specify. Now if Mr. Caughlan wishes to conform to those terms he may remain here. Otherwise he will have to be removed and will have to stay out of here. Now that is the opinion of this Committee, and we will have no more foolishness about it.

### Attorney O'Brien Is Advised

MR. O'BRIEN: May I ask a question as counsel for a witness?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may direct your questions to the Committee in the way that was directed before. You may put it in writing.

MR. O'BRIEN: I want to inquire, Mr. Chairman, whether the Committee is presuming to instruct counsel in their duty to their clients?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are not even going to discuss the thing further here. Counsel will conform to the rules of procedure set down by the Committee. We are going beyond the usual committee procedure of this kind in permitting counsel to represent their clients while they are on the stand, and if counsel does not wish to conform to that procedure then they will be removed and will not be permitted to represent their clients in this hearing. Now that must be understood once and for all. Your position in this hearing is merely as a consultant with your client while he is on the stand, and we will tolerate no more interference from counsel in the back of the room.

This hearing is conducted for the Legislature, and not for the Communist Party, or their counsel, and we will tolerate no more interference from counsel from the back of the room. Now, if that is not understood we will direct the State Patrol to remove said counsel from the hearing room.

Now we will tolerate absolutely no more discussion from counsel in the back of this hearing room, and I am instructing the State Patrol at this moment that if we have any more such demonstrations, or attempts of counsel to inject their opinions, or ideas or whatever they have in mind into this hearing from the back of the room that they will be removed and kept out of this hearing. Now if that is not plain enough, why, we will have to depend on the State Patrol to take it from there.

MR. O'BRIEN: I bow to force.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will the State Patrol take those youngsters back there who are demonstrating, out of the room, and the instructions of this Committee is if anyone who demonstrates in similar circumstances again, will be removed and will stay out of the hearing room.

Now we are not going to tolerate much more foolishness.

The boy with the yellow sweater there, take him out!

Mr. Smith will be temporarily—will temporarily step aside because of our schedule, and we will proceed with the testimony of witnesses as scheduled.

## TESTIMONY OF ELLSWORTH WILLS

### Former State Legislator and Communist Party Member

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Ellsworth Wills take the stand and be sworn? Mr. Wills.

ELLSWORTH CLAYTON WILLS, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Wills, you have heard the instructions to the other witnesses as to method of answering questions here?

MR. WILLS: Yes, I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. WILLS: Ellsworth Clayton Wills.

MR. HOUSTON: Of what city are you a resident, Mr. Wills?

MR. WILLS: Of Seattle, Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you been a resident of Seattle for very long?

MR. WILLS: About 30 years.

MR. HOUSTON: 30 years.

MR. WILLS: Except for time overseas.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you Mr. Wills, what your occupation is?

MR. WILLS: Right now I am a candidate for public office.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you Mr. Wills if you have ever served in the Legislature?

MR. WILLS: Yes, I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Wills, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

MR. WILLS: Yes I was.

MR. HOUSTON: What year did you join the Communist Party?

MR. WILLS: 1935.

MR. HOUSTON: And when did you get out of the Communist Party?

MR. WILLS: 1939.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Wills, during the period of time that you were in the Communist Party, you were given some very important assignments by the Communists, were you not, in the form of speaking engagements, and things of that kind?

MR. WILLS: That is correct, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: During this period of time, a part of it you were a member of the Legislature, were you not?

MR. WILLS: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Therefore, from time to time you were given instructions by the Communists as to just what to do, and what other comrades would do to fill the program out.

MR. WILLS: Precisely.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you ever receive any instructions from the officials of the Communist Party about Harold Eby?

MR. WILLS: Not to my knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: About Garland Ethel?

MR. WILLS: No,—no official communications.

MR. HOUSTON: No official communications. Well, did you receive any other official communications?

MR. WILLS: Understood.

MR. HOUSTON: Understood. Well suppose you tell us just what was understood.

MR. WILLS: Well it was understood they were highly sympathetic.

MR. HOUSTON: Highly sympathetic with what you were doing to further the interests—

MR. WILLS: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: —of the Communist Party. How about—do you know a Burton James?

MR. WILLS: Yes—yes. Not personally, no. Not too well.

### Identifies Communists

MR. HOUSTON: Well, what do you know about Burton James?

MR. WILLS: Well I know that Burton James was considered a member of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: A member of the party. Did this information come to you while you were a Communist, in Party circles?

MR. WILLS: Oh yes, definitely.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Florence Bean James?

MR. WILLS: I know the name, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: You know the name. Now did the same information come about Florence Bean James?

MR. WILLS: The same principles applied, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: How about Melville Jacobs?

MR. WILLS: I can't answer that because I don't know him.

MR. HOUSTON: You can't answer that. Now Mr. Wills, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Rachmiel—

MR. WILLS: Rachmiel.

MR. HOUSTON: **Rachmiel Forschmiedt, commonly called "Rocky" Forschmiedt.**

MR. WILLS: Yes, **"Rocky" Forschmiedt was a member of my unit in West Seattle.**

MR. HOUSTON: **In the Communist Party.**

MR. WILLS: **That is correct, yes, sir.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Have you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with "Rocky"?**

MR. WILLS: **Oh yes, he was under direction of Margaret Heglund.**

MR. HOUSTON: And there is no question?

MR. WILLS: No question in my mind whatsoever, no. I say that was then. I don't know about now.

MR. HOUSTON: That is right. Now, what occupation, what was he doing then?

MR. WILLS: Well he was a sanitary engineer, whatever that is. I haven't the faintest idea.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know for whom he was working then?

MR. WILLS: I believe the City of Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: The City of Seattle. Do you know if he is still working for the City of Seattle?

MR. WILLS: To my knowledge, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Was "Rocky" Forschmiedt a member of the Communist Party up until you disassociated?

MR. WILLS: To my knowledge, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Now he attended the closed unit meetings out in West Seattle, of the same unit that you did?

MR. WILLS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And no one except Communists were permitted in the meetings?

MR. WILLS: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness. I certainly think that he should be excused from his subpoena. He came here at quite some sacrifice and certainly deserves the thanks of this Committee for leaving his business and attending the hearing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The Committee is grateful for your appearance here, and you live in Seattle and would be on call if we need you again?

MR. WILLS: That is right, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: With that understanding you may be excused.

A VOICE: Mr. Chairman, I believe I had a conversation with you in which you promised me definitely that I would be allowed the privilege through my attorney to cross examine—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There was no such agreement ever entered into. Mr. Forschmiedt will be called to the stand some time. I believe today, and he will be permitted to make such statements as may be pertinent to the accusations made against him, and there has been no agreement about cross examination of witnesses—and Mr. Forschmiedt will remain quiet while he is in the back of the room, and will be called in turn. Now Mr. Wills, you are excused from the subpoena.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF PROF. JOSEPH BUTTERWORTH English Department, University of Washington

MR. HOUSTON: Will Joseph Butterworth take the stand, please?

MR. HATTEN: Mr. Chairman, I am C. T. Hatten, attorney for Mr. Butterworth.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will instruct you as to your relationship here before we proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, may I have just a moment?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment, Mr. Butterworth, you can be seated until we proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: May I have just a moment?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before we proceed I want to be sure that counsel for Mr. Butterworth understands that his position here as counsel for his client is limited to the right to confer with his client, and not to make speeches, not to object to the procedure, not to perform any other function here than to confer and advise his client quietly and now we will proceed and Mr. Butterworth will be sworn.

MR. HATTEN: Mr. Canwell—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Stand and be sworn.

MR. HATTEN: —I insist on—

CHAIRMAN: You will be seated or you will be removed. Now just retain your proper position. After Mr. Butterworth is sworn we will give you any further instructions that are necessary.

MR. HATTEN: Legal objections—

PROFESSOR BUTTERWORTH: Under duress I will be sworn.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are not interested in your qualifications, but do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give here will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Now I wish to avoid any further difficulty here, and I want to instruct you, Mr. Hatten, that if you persist in voicing legal objections, or whatever you may term them, to our procedure or the questions, you will be removed.

I would like to have Mr. Butterworth have the benefit of counsel if it be of benefit, and if you think your services are of any value to Mr. Butterworth I suggest that you conform to the rules of procedure as laid down by this committee. Now if that is not understood we will have to do precisely what I said—remove you from the hearing room. That must be the rules of procedure here.

MR. HATTEN: I do not wish to disrupt the meeting in any particular. I merely would like the record to show that Mr. Butterworth is testifying under legal objections, and I would like the opportunity to state that they are under the federal and state constitutions.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are not interested in your legal objections as to his testimony. He is here under subpoena by a legislative committee. We have certain questions we wish to ask him and we will proceed to ask those questions without interference.

Proceed, Mr. Houston.



MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Butterworth, I will ask you as you testify to speak directly into the microphone, as this is being recorded, and that you answer audibly and not with a nod of the head, or wave of the hand.

Will you please state your name?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: My name is Joseph Butterworth.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have a middle name, Mr. Butterworth?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Butterworth?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I live at 1305 East 43rd Street.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of King County?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been a resident of King County?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I have been a resident for 19 years.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Butterworth?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I was born in Fall River, Mass.

MR. HOUSTON: What is the date of your birth?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: 1897.

MR. HOUSTON: The month and day?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: August 18.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Butterworth?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I teach on the University campus,—University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: What do you teach?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I teach English.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been employed by the University of Washington?

### Butterworth Refuses to Answer Question Pertaining to Party Membership

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: 19 years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Butterworth, are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

MR. HATTEN: I object to that question, Your Honor.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will make no further vocal objections, Mr. Hatten. If you do you will be removed.

Now Mr. Butterworth may answer the question.

MR. HATTEN: I advise you not to answer the question.

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: Mr. Chairman, because of conscience and because I should not be required to testify against myself, I will decline to answer that question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before we proceed I—we will refer back to this question—but because there were personal things said about you, I do not wish to restrict you in making some reply, but we will then go back to this question just asked you, and require that you answer it. I wish to advise you that, but that because certain personal things were said about you, which were not the intent of this Committee, we have no—we have no control over that sort of thing. If you wish to make some statement about that I will be glad to have it in the record.

MR. HATTEN: The right of cross examination—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you remove Mr. Hatten from the room.

The man just ejected from the room is the law associate of Mr. Caughlan. It was our wish that he represent his client. We stated the terms on which he could do that. He wished to prejudice the position of his client before this hearing by rejecting the instructions of this committee, and—however, the only question we wish to ask Mr. Butterworth, he has been instructed by his counsel not to answer. We will put that question to him again so he is not being deprived of counsel. He already has counsel's instructions on that question, and as I said before I want Mr. Butterworth to make any reasonable statement here as to personal charges about his appearance, or that sort of thing. We are not going to enter into a discussion of the witness' testimony or the pertinency of his testimony as to his association in the Communist Party with Mr. Butterworth, but if he wishes to make some statement about the accusations—or the personal things said about him, I certainly think that he should have this opportunity.

MR. CAUGHLAN: Mr. Chairman, there is nothing on the record to show—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Caughlan is not to return to this hearing room again while this hearing is in session. If he does I am instructing the State Patrol to put—place him under arrest.

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: Mr. Chairman, I am not represented by counsel.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Then we will, if you do not wish to proceed to take advantage of permission given you to reply on things said about you formerly, I will refer to the question of counsel as to your having—as to your being—having been a member of the Communist Party.

Will you ask the question again, Mr. Houston?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: Mr. Chairman, if Mr. O'Brien is in the room I would be very glad to have him represent me.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would be very glad to have Mr. O'Brien.

MR. O'BRIEN: I will do what I can at Mr. Butterworth's request, Mr. Chairman, but it is not a very pleasant position for counsel to be in.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The position of counsel is merely in conferring with his client, and advising him whether or not to answer.

MR. O'BRIEN: I understand your instructions fully.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now will you ask the question again, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Butterworth, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: Well, Mr. Chairman, I have had no opportunity to confer with my new counsel, Mr. O'Brien.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are not going to extend this beyond just a very brief discussion with him here. The question is proper—it is one that one should not need benefit of counsel on, as to whether to answer or not. You certainly know whether you were or not. Truth should be its own defense, and we will proceed with the questioning, and I wish to advise you that upon your refusal to answer, and answer directly,—the question may be answered by "yes" or "no," the committee will take the position taken on other witnesses, and will move to cite you for contempt, and I am sure you are familiar with the possible penalty.

Now if you will ask the question again, Mr. Houston, and the question may be answered by "yes" or "no," and not by any deviation from that.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Butterworth, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: **Because of conscience, and because I—this body has no right to force me to testify against myself, I refuse to answer the question.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: **You refuse to answer the question?**

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: **I do.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You refuse to answer the question our interrogator and the question of our committee, and you understand fully what the penalty may be?

PROF. BUTTERWORTH: I do.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may step aside, Mr. Butterworth.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

## TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES J. SULLIVAN

(2:15 P. M.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Sullivan take the stand?

JAMES J. SULLIVAN, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Sullivan, I will ask you as you testify that you speak directly into the microphone because it's being recorded and that you answer audibly the questions and not just nod or motion because the transcription can't record that.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. SULLIVAN: James Sullivan.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mr. Sullivan?

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, I am.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MR. SULLIVAN: About twenty years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is the name of your father, Mr. Sullivan?

MR. SULLIVAN: He is James T. Sullivan.

MR. HOUSTON: That's Mr. Sullivan, senior, I presume.

MR. SULLIVAN: Well, my middle initial is "J," his is "T."

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was your father active at one time in the affairs of the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

MR. SULLIVAN: He was active at its beginning—for some time he was a member of the State Board of the W.C.F.

MR. HOUSTON: And you accompanied your father on many of the—his speaking engagements and induction business that way?

MR. SULLIVAN: That's correct.

MR. HOUSTON: This was primarily during what years?

MR. SULLIVAN: I would say between 1936 and about 1940.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you attended various meetings from time to time there, didn't you?

MR. SULLIVAN: That's right; both the W.C.F. and the Pension Union.

MR. HOUSTON: Now do you recall attending a meeting at which Jesse Epstein presided?

MR. SULLIVAN: It was more of a seminar sub-meeting of a W.C.F. convention.

MR. HOUSTON: It was a fraction meeting, you might say, of the W.C.F. convention?

MR. SULLIVAN: I hate to use the word fraction meeting. The—after the convention we used to break down into smaller groups to discuss—oh, civil liberties, pension issues, taxation, labor, specialized interests.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you attend any of these meetings?

MR. SULLIVAN: Well, the ones that Jesse Epstein was presiding, were taxation although I attended others than just those.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, would you describe that meeting for us—in general what went on; what was said and done.

MR. SULLIVAN: Well, it was a discussion of the tax structure of the state. Jesse Epstein was the chairman or moderator, or whatever the technical term would be. There would probably be—oh, five to ten people at one of these meetings. Some of them, like myself, would be visitors. Others would be more or less delegates, if you could call them that—some from the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., Technocrats, and so forth.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, would they call the roll or anything like that?

MR. SULLIVAN: I don't believe there was any formal calling of the roll. There was usually questions as to what organization you represented, or whether you were there as a visitor.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was that common then for people to get up and state whether or not— Withdraw that. Was it common practice for people to get up and state what organization they represented?

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, frequently.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall that that was done on any particular occasion of this meeting which was chairmanned by Mr. Epstein?

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, I believe that the majority of those who were there mentioned one organization or another.

### Eby Admitted Representing Communists

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Harold Eby?

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you see Harold Eby at any of these meetings?

MR. SULLIVAN: He was at this taxation meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: At this taxation meeting. Did he announce who he represented?

MR. SULLIVAN: I wouldn't say that he said he represented them. He either said he was a Communist or he was there for the Communists—something to that effect.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, as the roll went around and each one said I am representing the C.I.O. faction or A. F. of L., Harold Eby said "I am a Communist" or he said words to the effect "I am representing the Communist Party"?

MR. SULLIVAN: To that effect. That's correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Is this the same Harold Eby that's a professor at the University of Washington?

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes it is.

MR. HOUSTON: You know him of your own—

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —acquaintanceship and knowledge. Now, can you tell us approximately when that occurred, Mr. Sullivan?

MR. SULLIVAN: I would say it was probably '37, it might have been '36—roughly, '37.

MR. HOUSTON: Probably 1937.

MR. SULLIVAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that's all I have for this witness and I ask the witness be excused and thanks from the Committee for his attendance, here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We do thank you for your attendance and you are now excused from attendance at this hearing.

(Witness Excused)

### Students in Their Pajamas at Cooperative

JOHN W. WHIPPLE, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You are Mr. John W. Whipple, Assistant Chief Investigator for the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee who has twice previously been in the witness chair and was sworn at that time, are you not?

MR. WHIPPLE: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: What is the purpose of your taking the chair today, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: For the purpose of reading to this Committee the—an affidavit of one Henry Kariel. That is spelled Kariel, a former student of the University of Washington who is now a resident of the State of California, over whom we have no subpoena power and whom it is impossible for us to have here at this time in person.

"STATE OF WASHINGTON }  
COUNTY OF KING } ss.

"HENRY KARIEL, of lawful age, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

"My name is Henry Kariel, and I am a student at the University of Washington, majoring in Speech. I am living in the men's dormitory known as Chelan Hall on the University campus. I am giving this affidavit since at the time of any hearing on Un-American Activities at the University of Washington it is entirely possible that I will be out of the State of Washington. It is my expectation to go to Europe at the end of the current Spring quarter to further my studies for a year there.

I wrote a thesis for a course in Propaganda at the University. The thesis was on Communism. During the course of my research I was told about a girl by the name of Janet Todd. Janet Todd was one of the leaders of the American Youth for Democracy at the University. She was living in a house at 942 East 42nd Street. This house was also used as an off-campus headquarters for meetings of a Marxist Discussion Group, from which discussion group people were chosen to become members of the American Youth for Democracy and the Communist Party. **This house was a student cooperative. By that I mean both men and women lived in the same house. I was actually in the house only once at about nine o'clock in the morning. At that time both the men and women occupants were having breakfast, and seemingly, a good time. They were all dressed in their pajamas and appeared quite relaxed with each other. This was either in April or May, 1947.**

I have read the above affidavit consisting of one page and thoroughly understand the matters and things contained therein. These statements are made by me of my own free will and accord, without promise of remuneration or reward of any nature and without duress or threat of violence."

Signed "Henry Kariel." Duly subscribed and sworn to.

(Witness Excused)

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH D. ROBERTS**  
**Publisher, former State Legislator and former**  
**Public Relations Officer of the U. S. Army**

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Roberts take the stand?

JOSEPH D. ROBERTS, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Roberts, did you hear the instructions given the previous witness as to speaking audibly?

Will you please state your name?

MR. ROBERTS: Joseph D. Roberts.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mr. Roberts?

MR. ROBERTS: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been such a resident?

MR. ROBERTS: 35 years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Roberts?

MR. ROBERTS: I'm a publisher.

MR. HOUSTON: You're a former member of the Legislature, are you not?

MR. ROBERTS: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: What years were you in the Legislature?

MR. ROBERTS: From 1933 until 1942—or 1941.

MR. HOUSTON: And were you in the House or in the Senate?

MR. ROBERTS: I was in the House for a while and then in the Senate for a couple of terms.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, were you an officer in the Army of the United States during the last World War?

MR. ROBERTS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you stationed at Fort Lewis, Washington?

MR. ROBERTS: Yes, sir, I was, in 1941. Right after the session of the Senate adjourned in March, 1941, I went on active duty with the Army.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you have occasion to attend any of the shows of the Repertory Playhouse?

MR. ROBERTS: The Repertory Playhouse brought some of their actors and actresses down to Fort Lewis to present some plays for the soldiers there. As Public Relations Officer on the staff of Colonel Ralph Glass, I went to witness their plays.

**Indoctrinated Soldiers in Communism**

MR. HOUSTON: You went to witness their plays, and what kind of plays had they brought down there?

MR. ROBERTS: Well, that was quite a while ago. That was in 1941; this is 1948, but as nearly as I can remember they were plays that were—that carried a message that was rather leftish, but I wasn't particularly concerned with the plays themselves, and I don't think that the other officers at the Post, or the soldiers, were either. I think that the main thing they were concerned with was the propaganda that the actors and actresses from the Repertory Playhouse gave to the soldiers before the performances, between acts and after the performances. **They talked to the soldiers, and they tried to indoctrinate them with Communism.**

MR. HOUSTON: Did the soldiers come and complain to you of the activities of these people?

MR. ROBERTS: Many of the soldiers came to me and told me that they thought something should be done about it. I remember there were many officers' wives who had attended these plays came to me and they were very adamant and said that they thought it was terribly wrong to be indoctrinating these soldiers with this foreign ideology, when we should be indoctrinating them with patriotism because they were about to go to war to fight for this country.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you report your findings to your commanding officer?

MR. ROBERTS: I went to Colonel Glass and reported to him exactly what I had seen and what the others had seen, and I relayed their comments to the Commander.

MR. HOUSTON: Now where were these plays being given?

MR. ROBERTS: At first they presented them, as I remember, right on the reservation, at the—either the Hostess House, or the Red Cross—I don't remember exactly at which one of those places, but later they presented their plays at a little theatre near American Lake, which was a matter of a few miles from the Fort Lewis reservation.

**Repertory Playhouse Actors Banned from Post**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did these soldiers that complained about these different things name any particular names?

MR. ROBERTS: **Yes, they did. They mentioned the names of Burton James and his wife and Mr. Al Ottenheimer.**

MR. HOUSTON: As the ones that were the leaders.

MR. ROBERTS: The leaders.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Colonel Glass or the Army do anything about this activity?

MR. ROBERTS: Yes, sir. Colonel Glass told me to kick them off the post, which I did. When you're in the Army you take orders. It was a pleasure, though.

MR. HOUSTON: And the Army banned them from giving plays there—

MR. ROBERTS: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: —as a result of that.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I am through with this witness and suggest that he be excused of the subpoena with the thanks of the committee for his—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would like to just ask one question and this is for the records.

You are testifying as a civilian and not as a member of the military service at present.

MR. ROBERTS: That is right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused and thank you for appearing.

MR. ROBERTS: Thank you, very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: You are Mr. John W. Whipple, Assistant Chief Investigator for the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee, are you not, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have previously been in the box and been sworn.

MR. WHIPPLE: I have.

### Affidavit of Col. Ralph R. Glass, Retired

MR. HOUSTON: What is your purpose in taking the witness stand at this time?

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like to present to the committee at this time—at this time—an affidavit of Colonel Ralph R. Glass, a resident of the State of California, concerning whom it is impossible for him to be here to testify at this hearing.

#### AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }  
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA } ss.

Ralph R. Glass, of lawful age, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

My name is Ralph R. Glass, and I am a Colonel, United States Army retired, and at the present time living at 1019 Ardmere Avenue, Oakland 10, California.

During 1941 I was Post Commander at Fort Lewis, Washington. At that time Joseph D. Roberts was my Recreation Officer. I remember that Mr. and Mrs. James and others took a theatre group from the Seattle Repertory Playhouse to Fort Lewis to present plays on the Post. I recall that Mr. Roberts informed me that the plays were subversive propaganda in substance and that they should not be allowed to present plays of that type before the men. I personally did not see the plays. Due to the information given to me by Mr. Roberts I instructed Mr. Roberts to inform the Jameses that there were no more open dates available for them to present plays on the Post. I believe these instructions were carried out by Mr. Roberts.

I have read the above affidavit consisting of one page and thoroughly understand the matters and things contained therein. These statements are made by me of my own free will and accord, without promise of remuneration or reward of any nature and without duress or threat of violence. To the best of my recollection the above statements are correct.

/s/ Ralph R. Glass  
Ralph R. Glass

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to this 9th day of June, 1948, before me.

/s/ C. A. Larson  
Notary Public in and for  
the State of California.

MR. HOUSTON: Phillip H. Davis.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I'm just informed that the witness is outside parading in the picket line. Do you suggest we send a patrolman out and get him?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I suggest that a patrolman go out and advise Mr. Davis that he is called for appearance on the witness stand; he was required to remain in attendance but we will go that far to help him to find his way here and it will be my suggestion that we will be at ease for about two minutes. Seems to be some difficulty in locating Mr. Davis. He is required to be in attendance; however, we will call him again in a few minutes and he should be here at that time. Can you proceed with another witness at this time?

### TESTIMONY OF PROF. MELVILLE JACOBS Dept. of Anthropology, University of Washington

MR. HOUSTON: Melville Jacobs. Is your counsel here, Dr. Jacobs.

DR. JACOBS: Yes, it is.

MELVILLE JACOBS, called as a witness, after being duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: And you wish the record to show that Mr. Henry is acting as your counsel at this occasion.

DR. JACOBS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard our instructions, have you not, to the other witnesses, Dr. Jacobs?

DR. JACOBS: Yes, Mr. Houston, go ahead.

MR. HOUSTON: It's correct to call you Doctor, isn't it?

DR. JACOBS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

DR. JACOBS: Melville Jacobs.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the city of Seattle?

DR. JACOBS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the city of Seattle?

DR. JACOBS: My appointment to the University was in January, 1928, and immediately afterwards I went on a field expedition and made my first residence here in the third quarter of that year. That would be, I suppose, the beginning of April, 1928.

MR. HOUSTON: And have you taught at the University ever since then?

DR. JACOBS: Yes, except for quite a number of sessions when I was on leave of absence to conduct field researches or for one or another purpose.

### Admits Communist Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Jacobs, I will ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party.

DR. JACOBS: I was a member of the Communist Party but I am not now.

MR. HOUSTON: When did you join the Communist Party, Doctor?

DR. JACOBS: When?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

DR. JACOBS: I'm not clear, because it's so long ago, of the precise date. It could have been as early as '35. I prefer to think rather that the probabilities are somewhat higher than it was in early '36, but I prefer to let it go in that vague way because it is long ago and I've been so busy and it just doesn't fit in as a definite point, sir, anywhere.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, when did you get out of the Communist Party, Doctor?

DR. JACOBS: That was an extremely gradual process in my own mind and as far as any formal disaffiliation is concerned, there again I feel that I cannot place it more precisely than possibly at the end of '45, possibly in the beginning of '46, somewhere along in that vague period there were many months, many, many months, that were—one could say, the end occurred. Simply because I was not attending or participating in any way and I simply just was out of the picture, just dropping by the wayside.

MR. HOUSTON: During the period of time that you were in the Communist Party, did you attend meetings, Doctor?

DR. JACOBS: Of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Can you tell me about how often these meetings were held?

DR. JACOBS: My own attendance at all times was intermittent and irregular and there were many periods when I was engaged in researches either—uh—well, in almost all cases since the early '30's out of the state.

But the regularity of meetings and there are periods to me I'm not quite clear about. I think there were times when I might have gone one week after another for a few weeks but I think at other times it might have been two or three or four week intervals of absence. It was an intermittent thing and I'm quite sure as I recall this period that's—that I frankly tried to erase from my mind, it was essentially a changeable phenomenon, rather irregular.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you hold any offices in the Communist Party?

DR. JACOBS: There again I feel that if I held any offices they were merely minor evening role in the branch meeting but I do not recall honestly any office other than some modest, to the capacity within the branch. And at any case I'm quite certain that during the past decade not even a minor office of that sort ever fell to my lot because I was just too busy with other things to do anything except as a relatively passive by-stander.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend any of the county plenums or conventions?

DR. JACOBS: I have no recollection of ever having gone down town to that sort of thing. Now, there is a possibility, I should say a very small, a very remote possibility, that I did so far back that I cannot recall it, but at the moment I feel quite confident. I cannot swear that there was a hundred percent non-participation in that sort of thing but I'm quite confident that I never did.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, were you given a card in the Communist Party?

DR. JACOBS: There again my recollection is that—that another person simply handed in a card for me. I'm not clear about it—I've talked about it to a friend or two recently and I am quite sure I—I never carried a card on my person, that is absolutely certain. I figured to my recollection it was merely an application thing of some sort or other. I didn't even fill out in my own handwriting, I'm quite sure of that.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you receive in turn any card that you recall, with dues stamps in it?

DR. JACOBS: Yes, I have memories of small stamps, I couldn't describe them.

MR. HOUSTON: These were signified that dues had been paid?

DR. JACOBS: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall the approximate amount of dues that you paid in any given period?

DR. JACOBS: I've heard varying testimony this past week which has not struck any loud responsive chord in my memory. All I can say about that is that dues to me were always microscopic. They were very, very small and I am quite sure that if they amounted into—into sums in terms of dollars they might have been two or three dollars at the most a month as far as I was personally concerned, but I have no recollection of dues that amounted to very much.

Now, I heard the other day, Mr. Houston of a—of one of the witnesses indicating 5%. That—that doesn't strike any responsive chord in my memory.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you called on from time to time to contribute money for other purposes?

DR. JACOBS: Requests came through as I recall very vaguely, for additional money for this, that, or the other thing that was on someone else's calendar that they felt that funds ought to be collected for, but what they were specifically, I don't recall.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, were you requested from time to time to perform services and do things that the Communist Party was interested in?

DR. JACOBS: I don't think that the word request could have ever applied to me. It's possible that people asked if I would do this, that, or the other, and I know full well from the record of the research that I've simply been primarily obligated to do all these years that I must have been pretty unsatisfactory to many of my friends and that I just said "no."

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been on any kind of a picket line?

DR. JACOBS: I believe that once years ago I visited and observed a picket at the wharves not far from here, but I was not, myself, ever on a picket line.

MR. HOUSTON: That's the only—

DR. JACOBS: I have no recollection of ever having been on a picket line anywhere.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever participated in any demonstration—

DR. JACOBS: I am certain that I never have, ever.

MR. HOUSTON: —or ever march on a particular place?

DR. JACOBS: I am certain that I never have, anywhere, to my recollection at the present. I don't feel very congenial in that kind of an environment.

### Explains Why He Got in Communist Party

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, who solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

DR. JACOBS: I wouldn't phrase it as a—as a solicitation. I would put it somewhat in this light, Mr. Houston, if I may, that in the period of the depression and in the course of visiting around in the country, riding about in my car and seeing poor devils starving or walking along the Bowery of New York, I became aware of a—of an aspect of life I had never had any occasion to be interested in. Furthermore, a professional anthropologist has to work with people who have taken the most indescribable beating, our American Indians or other natives in various parts of the world.

MR. HOUSTON: I'd like the question to be rather responsive, but I want it to be as—

DR. JACOBS: Well, I wanted to give a little bit of the background so that I could feel that I had given an absolutely honest testimony.

MR. HOUSTON: The question was whether or not you could remember anyone who had solicited you for membership in the Communist Party.

DR. JACOBS: I have already mentioned a gentleman who talked to me to the investigators who visited me on the campus. It was Robert Roberts, years ago—who was the one person who was in the picture at that time, but I wouldn't phrase it as a solicitation. He was a friend, the brother of a student of earlier years, and he interested me in that period when we sat around and

chatted and had coffee. He interested me in various things that were rather intriguing to me because I had presumed that the Communist Party was loyal to Soviet Russia, primarily, and I had presumed that it believed in force and violence and I didn't want to have anything whatever to do with that type of an organization.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh—

DR. JACOBS: He brought me several of the Strachey books if I might pursue that, Mr. Houston?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that we had better confine this to the answers to the questions of the counsel. I want to give you reasonable latitude but I think we are getting far afield, here.

DR. JACOBS: Well, I think I can say in a word that after he had persuaded me, and my reading had persuaded me, that the party was not in favor of force and violence and violent overthrow of the government and was not loyal to a foreign power. But then I became interested and myself approached him, after a very long period of reflection and time, and indicated that he could sign me up. Is that the answer you wished?

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever solicit anyone for membership in the Communist Party?

DR. JACOBS: Not as an individual. There were individuals, friends, who sat about and several of us chatted with them and it was on that kind of a group basis rather than my personal or individual solicitation. I have no recollection of any individual solicitation of any one person.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, do you have any recollection of any group solicitation of any one person?

DR. JACOBS: Mrs. Jacobs and some friends.

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Jacobs and some friends.

DR. JACOBS: Yes. I promised not to mention Mrs. Jacobs, but I think that's all right.

### Refuses to Name Other Party Members

MR. HOUSTON: Who are the friends, or who were they?

DR. JACOBS: I am very sorry, Mr. Houston, but I cannot, I simply cannot, be an informer on people who, in my judgment, have always been completely loyal to our country, and who do not believe in force and violence, who have never done anything illegal, and who are my friends.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Doctor, did you ever sit in Communist Party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

DR. JACOBS: I'm sorry, I cannot inform on a friend, Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you—

DR. JACOBS: I realize full well and against the advice of counsel—

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever sat in Communist Party meetings with Ralph Gundlach?

DR. JACOBS: The same answer, Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: You refuse to answer?

DR. JACOBS: I cannot inform on friends who have not testified already.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, this witness refused to answer questions which I believe to be proper and I ask that the chairman of the Committee put the questions to the witness where he may answer and not be in contempt of the Legislature.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Who—what were the names of the two you asked him about?

MR. HOUSTON: Herbert J. Phillips, Ralph H. Gundlach.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before I repeat the questions of the Committee I wish to be certain that you understand the responsibilities you are taking upon yourself.

DR. JACOBS: I understand.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The Committee will proceed against you to have you cited for contempt of the Legislature for refusing to answer the questions of the Committee. I will ask you again so there will be no misunderstanding.

Have you ever sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Herbert J. Phillips?

DR. JACOBS: I cannot answer, Mr. Canwell.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you sat in closed party—Communist Party meetings with Professor Gundlach?

DR. JACOBS: I cannot answer, Mr. Canwell.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may step aside.

DR. JACOBS: Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Is Mr. Phil Davis in the audience?

We will take proper action on Mr. Davis' case when we are in the executive session. Are you prepared to proceed with another witness?



## TESTIMONY OF GEORGE HEWITT

### Former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party

MR. HOUSTON: Yes. Will Mr. George Hewitt take the stand?

GEORGE HEWITT, called as a witness, after being duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Hewitt, you have heard the instructions that have been given to other witnesses, have you not as to—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —speaking.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. HEWITT: George Hewitt.

MR. HOUSTON: In what city do you live, Mr. Hewitt?

MR. HEWITT: New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Hewitt?

MR. HEWITT: Brooklyn, New York.

MR. HOUSTON: When were you born?

MR. HEWITT: May 27, 1905.

### Party Member from 1926 to 1944

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Hewitt, are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I have been a member of the Communist Party since 1926. I left in 1944.

MR. HOUSTON: 1926 to 1944 you were continuously a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HEWITT: In regard to that, Mr. Houston, I was recruited in the Y.C.L., Young Communist League in the year of 1926 and then went into the Communist Party in the year of 1927.

MR. HOUSTON: One year later.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever held office or positions of responsibility in the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: I have many—I've held many offices. I at one time was the—a member of the National Committee of the Party. I was a member of the National Control Commission; I was section organizer at Harlem; I was an editor of the "Negro Liberator," one of the front newspapers that the central committee of the party placed out in their drive toward Negro recruitment. Later on I became another organizer in the Long Island section of New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: You've been a teacher—

MR. HEWITT: **Oh, yes, for seven-eight years in the Worker's School, New York City, I taught the principles of Communism, Marxism, Leninism and the Negro question.**

MR. HOUSTON: You've also been—have you been an educational director at anytime in the party?

MR. HEWITT: This was following my trip to Russia. After I had been in Russia for two years, or two and a half years, I returned and was given

the position of section organizer in the Long Island area, known as section 9, one of the—one of the largest communities in New York, where I had the possibility of working with educational groups there, meeting with students, teachers from City College, Columbia, Adelphi Aca—School. I met with people from uh—uh—Brooklyn College and well, I believe—

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever, at any time, educational director for the State of New York?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I was. I—uh—served as assistant educational director to Isidora Begun, the school teacher in New York who was expelled—

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell that Begun?

MR. HEWITT: Uh—Begun.

MR. HOUSTON: Begun.

MR. HEWITT: —who was expelled from the public school system in New York around the year of 1935, '36 along with Willie Anna Burroughs.

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell that?

MR. HEWITT: Burroughs, a teacher in one of the public schools in Jamaica, who later was sent as a recompense to the Soviet Union, permitted to bring two of her children there and given hospitality of the Russian leaders.

### Communist Party Aliases

MR. HOUSTON: Were you given a party name, a name other than your own when you joined the party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. I was given a name on my passport. It was Edward Jackson. I was given quite a discussion, or lesson, on conspiracy. The reason they gave me this name was because they stated in the combination of legal and illegal work, certain Communists had to combine the legal with illegal, travel illegally—some traveled legally—and I came into this category of being of one who had to travel illegally, because, as they stated, I had to pass through countries of Fascist inclinations, such as Poland. Therefore, I was given the name Edward Jackson; and when I got to Russia I was given the name George James; on my return I was given the name Timothy Holmes, which was the name I used for eighteen years while an active organizer in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Is it common practice for the Party to have people take a name other than their own?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. It has proven very effective, from the angle of doing important courier work for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and it may be for the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how did you happen to join the Party, Mr. Hewitt?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, it was one of the—I would say the sore spots of my life. I was recruiting on the—recruited on the campus of New York University. I happened to be at a football game at the Yankee Stadium in which the National Student League and the League—I think the Students' Industrial League, the Communist front organization in combination—the National Student League was protesting the benching of Dave Meyers from the football team. The football team was playing the University of Georgia, and Meyers, Dave Meyers, a Negro player, was benched by Chic Meehan, and these student bodies, in my opinion, then, correctly protested this.

This was my first opportunity to come in contact with this type of—of struggle, and I very naively marched along the line of pickets. I was then invited to the home of one of the National Student League members, but when I got there I found out that I was asked to join the Young Communist League.

MR. HOUSTON: And you did join it?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I did there.

MR. HOUSTON: And the Young Communist League led right on in to the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, it did.

### Every Effort to Recruit Negroes

MR. HOUSTON: Now, does the Communist Party attempt especially to recruit Negro people into its ranks?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do they have a drive of any kind?

MR. HEWITT: They have had for a number of years all types of methods to attract the Negro people. I have had the occasion to sit in many sessions in the Kremlin and in the Comintern building in which, under the leadership of Harry Haywood, a member of the National Committee of the Party, questions of—on Negro formulation was being used as far back as 1930, where the Communist International advised all of us to emphasize the Negro question in this country on the basis of the right of self-determination, making the Negroes a nation in the black belt, and thus utilizing the slogan of the right of self-determination, which meant oppression of all opposition that would deny the right of the Negroes to set up this separate state, as opposed to the Government of the United States.

### Was Sent to Russia

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I am very, very interested in that program, and I want to get into it, Doctor, but let us proceed just a little rapidly. There is one or two things that I want to bring out very early in this.

You went to Russia under the auspices and instructions of the Communist Party, did you not?

MR. HEWITT: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And when was this?

MR. HEWITT: That was the latter part of 1929.

MR. HOUSTON: 1929.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: The latter part. And what was the occasion for your going to Russia?

MR. HEWITT: Well, at this particular time Josef Stalin, the Executive Secretary of the Communist International, had more or less tired of the many delegations that had gone over there, and had been selected by lieutenants or sergeants of his in the United States. They had continuously informed Stalin and Manuilsky and members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International that the Negroes were in rebellion already in this country; but year after year Stalin never saw any Negroes over there in the schools, and he insisted how come that if they were in rebellion, why don't you send them over to be—to be tutored? To be given instructions how to effectively

make the revolution in conjunction with their white brethren in the United States.

Stalin didn't know that the delegations going over there were playing a racket, even with Stalin. Many of them were people, Communists, who had run from the revolution. They had talked revolution but when things got hot in Russia they beat it to all parts of the world, including the United States, and thus resumed their fantasy of world revolution in this country, confusing many of the young people, including myself, and beckoned them to go on to this disastrous road that will only lead to one thing, the destruction of everything moral and spiritual.

MR. HOUSTON: I am going to come back to it, but you went to Russia then, in the fall of 1929, and you remained in Russia until approximately 1934.

MR. HEWITT: About—I would say '33.

MR. HOUSTON: '33.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Then you returned to the United States and from then on you were more or less in touch with the educational program of the Communist Party, were you not?

MR. HEWITT: I first assumed leadership in the section in Jamaica, which took in Long Island, up to Montauk Point. Then when they saw that I was really carrying it out as I should be, because by the time I came back the Party leaders were a little bit skeptical of me. I heard remarks that I was just too honest and naive. I just didn't know how to look at things materialistically and practically, which meant that I wasn't to believe all of the—all of the nice stuff that was written in the book. I—they tried to get me in the State of Louisiana, which was a way of killing me off. If I had accepted leadership in the State of Louisiana, I don't have to tell anybody in this audience what would have happened to me, as a Negro.

Therefore, I was sent to—to lead the Furriers Trade Union, the floor—the floor work—the floor boys. I was instrumental in organizing this in the Furriers Union; and from there they sent me to the State Committee of the Party, where I assumed work with Isidora Begun and Morris Schappes. I was the Assistant Education Director to Begun. He withdrew and I took the place of Educational Director in the state apparatus; Schappes then took it the next year and I resumed working as the head of the Negro work in the Educational Department, in which I taught in secret schools, both of local and national matter, and I believe the state activities ended there.

### Identifies Prof. Gundlach and Prof. Rader as Attending Secret Communist Party School

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Hewitt, were you ever in the City of Seattle before in your life until you came to this hearing?

MR. HEWITT: This is the first time.

MR. HOUSTON: Since you have been in attendance in this room have you seen any people that you've recognized?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you name those people that you recognize?

MR. HEWITT: Well, Professor Gundlach.

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Gundlach, Professor Ralph H. Gundlach?

MR. HEWITT: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: You're positive that's the same man?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Anybody else?

MR. HEWITT: Mrs. James.

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Florence Bean James?

MR. HEWITT: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Anybody else?

MR. HEWITT: Professor Rader.

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Rader. Is that Professor Melvin Rader?

MR. HEWITT: Melvin Rader.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you've had occasion to meet him face to face?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: He is the man that—you're positive of your identification?

MR. HEWITT: Very definite.

MR. HOUSTON: All right. Now, let's go back, and suppose you tell us the circumstances under which you met Professor Ralph H. Gundlach.

MR. HEWITT: In the State of New York, in the year 1938 and '39, there was for the first time a practical attempt made to carry out the decisions of a conference that we had in Moscow, under the leadership of this same Manuisky who was the U. N. leader for the Ukraine. He was one of the top secret men working with us in the Lenin School. At this meeting was Elizabeth Lawson, "Pop" J. Mindel, who is now the—

MR. HOUSTON: Will you spell that—

MR. HEWITT: Dr. Mindel, known among the comrades as "Pop."

MR. HOUSTON: Now how do you spell that?

MR. HEWITT: Mindel, who is at present the Commissar of Cultural and Educational Activities in the United States for the Communist Party, and a few others that I will go into a little later; but nevertheless, this meeting in the United States was an offshoot of this preparation made in Moscow. It was the first secret school of professionals ever held in this country. It had about seventy students.

MR. HOUSTON: Seventy—

MR. HEWITT: About seventy students. I saw the list of a number of these students. I worked closely with the National Educational Department; I taught in this school, and I taught also in the state secret school where I had the occasion to meet and converse with a number of these Communist professors, under strict obligations of secrecy.

### School at Briehl's Farm

MR. HOUSTON: Now, where was this school held?

MR. HEWITT: Up near Kingston, New York, on Briehl's farm, Briehl's.

MR. HOUSTON: And that's the one that had the seventy students.

MR. HEWITT: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, these students, you say, were professional men. Were they prominently teachers, or engineers, or lawyers, or what?

MR. HEWITT: **Teachers from universities.**

MR. HOUSTON: Teachers from universities.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. The other school took more—took the state teachers, which comprised more of the high school apparatus, personnel.

MR. HOUSTON: **Now, how were these people selected, to be in attendance there?**

MR. HEWITT: **Very carefully, by the National Board or National Committee of the Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: The National Committee itself.

MR. HEWITT: Of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Were they selected from all over the United States?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, at this time you were Educational Director for the Party in the State of New York?

MR. HEWITT: I was.

MR. HOUSTON: And this school was more or less your responsibility?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, together, of course, with the Political Bureau of the National Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: And you are conversant completely with its formation?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And the mechanics of how the students were enrolled?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And with the students that were there?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if any of the men you have named were in attendance at that school?

MR. HEWITT: **Professor Gundlach.**

MR. HOUSTON: Professor Ralph H. Gundlach?

MR. HEWITT: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, that—is that the same Professor Gundlach who took this stand yesterday?

MR. HEWITT: It was, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And he attended this secret Communist school. **Is there a shadow of a doubt as to whether he could have attended that school and have not been a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. HEWITT: **No, sir, he could not. He would have to be a member of the Communist Party to attend that school.**

MR. HOUSTON: **And selected by the National Committee?**

MR. HEWITT: **Yes, sir.**

MR. HOUSTON: Did Professor Melvin Rader attend that school?

MR. HEWITT: The same answer applies.

MR. HOUSTON: Selected by the National Committee of the Communist Party.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: **Now you are positive that that is the Melvin Rader you have seen here in this room?**

MR. HEWITT: **Yes, sir. A little thinner.**

MR. HOUSTON: A little thinner.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And that you met face to face less than an hour ago.  
 MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.  
 MR. HOUSTON: Now what year was this school held?  
 MR. HEWITT: That was in the—about the year '39—'38 and '39.  
 MR. HOUSTON: '38 and '39.  
 MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.  
 MR. HOUSTON: '38 and '39. How long was the course?  
 MR. HEWITT: It was supposed to be a course of a month and a half.  
 MR. HOUSTON: Six weeks.  
 MR. HEWITT: Six weeks intensive study of Marxism-Leninism for the professional personnel.

### School Taught Revolution Against U. S. Government

MR. HOUSTON: This was secret, completely from the public.  
 MR. HEWITT: Definitely.  
 MR. HOUSTON: Was this school—**did it teach revolution against the Government of the United States?**  
 MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. It taught Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, Parliamentarianism, methods of illegal and legal work, the state, which is the basic concept of Marxism-Leninism, and when you speak of the state, or teach the state, you teach the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means how to overthrow the capitalist form of government.  
 MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you, Mr. Hewitt, just so we won't leave it hanging in the air, your recognition of Mrs. James was not in connection with this school?  
 MR. HEWITT: No, sir.  
 MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you tell us a little bit about the courses that were held in this school, what was taught, and the program of it?  
 MR. HEWITT: Of the—  
 MR. HOUSTON: Of this Briehl Farm school.  
 MR. HEWITT: As I stated, briefly, the—it had to be an intensive six weeks course. It was in line with the penetration of the cultural front on the American scene. Mr. "Pop" Mindel was the responsible man with George Siskin, and J. Peters. All of these were instructors in these—in the schools. Some of them are up now for deportation.

Incidentally, Peters wrote the Peters Manual, which was one of the text books of the school. If you will read—if you will look into the text book, into the text of Peters Manual, you will find that a very clever instruction is given about behavior in court, how Communists should behave in court, how to act, how to carry out decisions, how to behave, how to discipline, when not to be in a disciplined manner, when to form a demonstration; everything that I have witnessed here in the last two days have shown me that there has been a thorough job and a thorough assimilation of Peters Manual.

And now, besides this, you have one of the shrewdest teachers in the person of Mr. Mindel. His pet theory was how to steal intellectuals. He said, "You have to handle intellectuals with kid gloves, in the beginning, but then you have to put them through the mill," and he certainly did. When you got away from an instruction of "Pop" Mindel you just simply had a very definite inner confusion. An intellectual will come out of there beaten, as I have seen some

of these prominent professors behave—beaten men who have been injected with this inner conflict that prevents them from understanding that the idealism that all Americans should adhere to is the idealism of Americanism, and that the idealism and ethics given to them by "Pop" Mindel is the ethics of a Stalin and the ethics of Soviet America for the destruction of our great country.

Therefore, I can understand the reactions of many of them because I know the theories of Mindel has been passed on, which is indeed the theories of Stalinism as promulgated in the Soviet Union.

Besides this, my friends, you had a very thorough, or they had a very thorough, instruction on the dialectical materialism, which tells us that—that everything is materialistic, and that they are opposites, negative and positive; the two must come together inevitably, there must be a combustion, and with this combustion comes a new life.

So, the Communist Marxists say that—we can make this historical, that's in the scientific field; therefore, we Marxists makes it historical, and they—by making it historical, they place as the opposites in our American life the workers and the capitalists, though a capitalist has the state, that's the fist of the capitalist, the two must always fight. The struggle is inevitable. The combustion must come. When the combustion comes the workers will win out because that's the positive teaching; and from that will arise the new state, the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and with it must go bloodshed. Let us not forget this, because "Pop" Mindel was very accurate, and always jokingly telling us about Lenin's criticism of Gorky, when Gorky said to Lenin, "My God, so much bloodshed!" Lenin said, "Don't be a stupid intellectual. All the years of your life you have seen the capitalists throw us around. So, what's a little blood spilling now?"

This was the famous remarks that "Pop" Mindel constantly injected in his studies to these intellectuals, constitut—thus, leaving them in a sad shape of mind.

I can understand, Mr. Houston, and I'm, strange to say, very much in sympathy with the turmoil that's going on with this inner conflict, this conflict that makes them believe that they see the idealism far away in Russia somewhere. It has become their God; but the thing is striking home now, it's striking very close; it's coming home, and the bloodshed is not far, because Stalin is making it very clear today that the di—the principles of Communism never change, and this is what was taught in school; the tactics and the strategy change, the strategy, that is long-range; the tactics are short; consequently all of these buggyride of changes that you see, but the principle never changes. That is, the bloody overthrow of this—of the United States Government; and they say it's the dictatorship of capitalism.

This is in essence what was taught, what I taught for a number of years in the Workers School and in the secret schools, and what I heard is being taught in the professional and secret schools of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

### Secrecy of Communist Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Hewitt, there is one point I want to clear up here. Mr. Hewitt, will you explain a little bit about the secrecy of some of the members of the Communist Party? Are there members who keep their membership secret even from other Communist members?

MR. HEWITT: Oh, definitely.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you explain a little of that?

MR. HEWITT: This is what I meant a minute ago by the combination of legal and illegal work. I've had occasion to visit several prominent, even—I can name the person here. Morris Schappes. Bella Dodd, who just recently came out and admitted she was a Communist. For eight years, no one in the world would dream she was, yet I was visiting her and giving her instructions, for a period of six years. Morris Schappes, from City College, and this can be seen in the papers because when they asked him what Communists he knew outside of City College, he said he knew Tim Holmes; and the result was, of course, the F.B.I. and everybody came to my home and thought that I was some courier, and they were thinking correctly, when Mr. Horton didn't negate from naming me.

This was an instance in which Horton informed on me—or Schappes informed on me, because I could be sacrificed. The Party gave him the instructions—inform on me and save the bigger fellows. And he did it. They went under assumed names, and scores of others. Their only contact with the Party was through couriers, not even through a note or letter or anything.

MR. HOUSTON: **Would it become possible for a member of the Communist Party to be a teacher at the University of Washington, and that fact not even be known to the other Communist teachers?**

MR. HEWITT: **Very definitely so. Very definitely so.**

MR. HOUSTON: Is that—would that be an unusual case?

MR. HEWITT: No. **There are several such cases.**

MR. HOUSTON: What would that case—what would that illustrate?

MR. HEWITT: That illustrates the, from the Communist angle, a very disciplined form of activity, and abiding by Party discipline and decisions.

MR. HOUSTON: This particular person had a function separate completely from the other.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

### **Names Prominent Negroes**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I'm—who were some of the first Negroes that were recruited into the Communist Party, and how did they get them?

MR. HEWITT: This goes back a little before my recruitment. It entails men like Whitman, I don't remember the last—first name. I met him in Russia later on. I learned since that he's been liquidated. He was responsible for organizing the Communist front known as the Blood Brotherhood. You had also a Harold Williams, who I met in Moscow. He attended the Far Eastern University there. He has since been kicked out of the Party. You had James W. Ford, whom they picked up in Chicago in some sort of—I think he was a wireless clerk; and in haste to show Josef Stalin that they really had Negroes, Ford went directly to Moscow and made a report about Russian bureaucracy. Of course, he read the report; he didn't know a thing about Russian bureaucracy, but this was to show his brilliance. Somebody else wrote the report for him.

You had Cyril Briggs, who is now on the West Coast, was one of the charter members of the Party, he's been recently kicked out because of his independence of thought. He didn't particularly like the—the denial of democracy, although they talk a lot about democratic centralism in the Party. I am sure the eminent professors here would agree with me that you'd better talk what they want you to talk about, or else you will be suspected and spied upon,

considered a dissident element. I could go on with a number of other Negroes, but when I came into the movement the—I just couldn't understand the beaten demeanor of these men.

### **True Attitude Toward Negroes Revealed**

They gave me a secret letter to give to Joseph Stalin when I left. I refused to, however, be part in the controversy. I didn't know what was going on. I was in a confusion—or rather, in a confused state of mind. I saw these men. They seemed to be mature, older men than I. I respected them for their age and their experience, but there—something was wrong. Finally, when they gave me this sealed letter, I came to the conclusion that something—everything was not right, and I discovered it on my first day on boat.

On my first day on boat I found out, when I boarded the ship "Rotterdam," that the Communist leadership sincerely did not want to develop Negro leaders. They wanted you to be a tool, a "yes" man, as we know it in America here, an Uncle Tom. You have to be under their guidance, do as they say. We had a decision not to dance with any of the white girls on the "Rotterdam" because this would attract attention and the people would immediately pick us out as Communists.

When we got on the English boat on a transfer, the people there are quite different. They wondered why the negroes refused to dance with them, and one of the negroes got up and says, "I think it would be tactfully correct if we accepted and danced with one of the English people, because this would be natural, the way the people behaved there." This was refused by the leadership. Any time a negro walked on the streets of London, or Berlin, or Amsterdam, he was told that he had to be escorted by a chaperon. They just didn't trust us. There were only three of us on the ship—three Negroes on that ship, the trip I took, and they took one of these Negroes and played against us, the other two.

MR. HOUSTON: How many people were in this group that brought pressure on you?

MR. HEWITT: The first group was about thirty.

MR. HOUSTON: Did the Russian Government pay the expenses, or did the American Communists—

MR. HEWITT: The Russian Government sent the money over to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and this in turn was given to us. Before we even boarded ship, we had to take physical examinations, we had to see certain lawyers—of course, we had a corps of very shrewd Party lawyers. I think Nell Miscaro was very active in those days, the young lady who leads the—who represents the Communists in the deportation trials, and they had more than enough to go to certain places and forge names on passports and swear that you were a cousin of this or that.

### **Describes Death of Gilbert Lewis**

I'd like to relate that Gilbert Lewis, this young Negro chap from Tennessee, a very brilliant boy, I believe he was a college graduate already, he—at the doctor that I went with him to, the doctor told me that Gil was too sick to take the trip; it would be disastrous, but they wanted Gil because he—although he was an intellectual, he was the simple kind, he was easy to give in, he was willing to give in to anything they said or told him to do.

He made this trip and in two months time he contracted a very serious

disease. The weather was too vigorous for him. This Dr. Mindel, who was the one responsible for sending Gilbert Lewis on this trip against doctor's orders, then came clamoring to me to see if I could do something. I went to Gil and he told me he felt that he was going to die and that he would like his last request that he gave to Dr. Mindel, a request that his body, in case he dies, be shipped back to his people in Tennessee.

And when we took him to the Crimea—I remember vividly, I lifted him on the train in Moscow and placed him in his bunk. He went to Crimea. Two day later, he died. I was asked to go down as a two-man delegation with Dr. Mindel. On the way down on the train, Dr. Mindel first tried to test me to see whether I was loyal toward the thing that Russia stood for; then when he was convinced that I wasn't shaky, he then informed me that I was going to witness an autopsy. I said, "Upon whom?" "Upon Gilbert Lewis." I said, "But his request was that his body be shipped home." He ignored that. He said, "That's the decision of the Central Committee."

Well, I didn't want to go against that decision, there was a hundred and—it seemed to me at that time, a hundred and sixty million against one. So, I went there and I witnessed this autopsy. I asked Dr. Mindel to come in and see the—see his boy being chopped up, and he said he couldn't stand blood. That was my real second shock, upon the sincerity of, and the morality of Communist leaders.

This I tell because it left a very vivid impression upon me and upon many of the other Negroes there, because we then had to be on watch. We realized that these people were callous, that everything nice and rosy in the United States wasn't just so; they showed us what they would do when they attained power. And to prove this further, on another occasion I went to a camp with another Negro chap from Detroit, who was beaten to the core. I went with him to just boost him up until we got passage home; a young chap named Noel, who testified before the House Committee in Washington. While away, they got after another chap that sided with the students against the administration. Five days later, when we returned, they'd informed us that he was cremated.

### **Piatnitsky Threatens Hewitt**

I very angrily and naively went into the Comintern Building and consulted this same Piatnitsky. Piatnitsky listened to me and he said he recognized me as the—as one of the headaches in the Lenin School, and then he stood up very sharply, pushed his finger in my nose, backed me up against the wall, and he said, "Now, listen. We don't want to hear any more about this. We are not afraid of the world, and we are not afraid of you." I said, "Very well, thank you, Tovarish," and I went out. I realized then fundamentally that the Negro question was just being made as a football.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, the girl that goes—that transcribes this, Mr. Hewitt, is going to have a little trouble with that word. What was that you called him when you thanked him?

MR. HEWITT: Oh, Tovarish, means comrade.

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell it?

MR. HEWITT: Phonetically, Tovarish, with an "ish" on the end of it.

MR. HOUSTON: You speak Russian, incidentally, do you not?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, I do. I could also state that the—the way I acquired the knowledge of the Russian language was, thanks to the behavior of the

American leadership, I—in order to get away from them over there, I lost myself among the Russian people and among the children and the homeless.

I'm not talking from books; I'm talking from practical experience. I saw them. I conversed with them. I traveled more than eleven days on a Trans-Siberian Railroad. I had occasion there to meet and talk. I was censored many times for talking too much to the Russians, or they were talking too much to me; and I went along in this light, with the Russians.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you were—went in little groups, did you not, to serve in Russian industry from time to time—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —and to speak to the workers in the factories?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. We—I went on several collective farms and several government farms, known as—the collective farms were known as kov-hoz, and sov-hoz.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF RACHMIEL FORSCHMIEDT

### Sanitarian, King County Health Dept., Seattle, Washington

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, there are one or two people that we have promised would be given the privilege of the stand today. I would like to ask that the witness George Hewitt step aside until nine-thirty tomorrow morning. I would like very much to definitely put him on at nine-thirty tomorrow morning, and I think there are some people that might be interested in the things that he will testify to at that time; he will detail the program and the teaching in the Lenin Institute. He was actually an instructor, a teacher in the Lenin Institute; and also his personal conferences with Joseph Stalin, and he's had numerous personal conferences and he has a digest or official transcript of his conferences with Mr. Stalin.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, he will—it is understood that he will be the first witness in the morning, then.

MR. HOUSTON: Now we will —Mr. Forschmiedt take the stand?

RACHMIEL FORSCHMIEDT, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Have you heard the instructions that have been given to the other witnesses, Mr. Forschmiedt?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: Rachmiel Forschmiedt. Rachmiel Forschmiedt. D like in dog.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the—King County, Mr. Forschmiedt?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: In the State of Washington?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: In New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: And when were you born?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: February 21, 1903.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: Senior Sanitarian in the Seattle, King County, Department of Public Health. I would like to correct the misstatement which has done my superior officer an injustice. Mr. Butler is the Chief Sanitarian, and he's sitting here now. I am just a senior.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been employed on that position, Mr. Forschmiedt?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: August 1st, 1937.

### Pleads Bill of Rights and Won't Answer

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Forschmiedt, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: Mr. Houston, in asking me to answer that question

you are asking me to violate the supreme law of the United States of America, the Constitution of the United States—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Forschmiedt, you will be responsive to the ques—that is a question that may be answered by “yes” or “no” and one which this Committee of the Legislature feels it has every right to ask and—

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: (Incoherent).

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The question will be placed again. I want to advise you that your failure to testify—your failure to reply will be considered by this Committee as contempt of the Legislature and we will proceed against you—

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: I want it clearly understood that I have no contempt for you, Mr. Canwell, or the Legislature of the State of Washington. I am simply stating that I do not want to violate the Bill of Rights—

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: (Incoherent)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You are not being placed in jeopardy in this—

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: You are, Mr. Canwell—

MR. CANWELL: You will either desist and answer the questions of the Committee or be considered in contempt.

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: I beg to differ with you, sir. I am not in contempt and I disagree with you there.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer the question of the interrogator as to whether you have been—are or have been a member of the Communist Party? Do you answer or do you refuse to answer?

MR. FORSCHMIEDT: I refuse to violate the law of the United States—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Step aside, please.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, is Mr. Davis here yet? Is Mr. Davis in the audience, has he come back yet?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that we will go into the matter of Mr. Davis this evening—I do not wish to state the reasons why we are being so lenient with Mr. Davis. I think that we will go into that but let's not pursue it further here.

### Howard Smith Returns to Stand No Intention to Offend Negroes

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Howard take—Mr. Smith take the stand for just a moment again.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Smith, in your testimony this morning, was that not just a slip of the tongue and you meant no disrespect for Mr. Hewitt or any other member of the colored race, did you? Make that clear.

MR. SMITH: Oh—I—I was thinking of something else, I believe, but I have only—why, heaven's sake, I've housed 10,000 colored people in this town and if I said “nigger” I probably meant “Negro”—

MR. HOUSTON: You just made a mistake, that's fine—

MR. SMITH: —since I have no incensed feeling against Negro people. I've got lots of friends here.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you, Mr. Smith, did you see the last man that was on the witness stand?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.



**Identifies Forschmiedt as Communist**

MR. HOUSTON: Who was that man?

MR. SMITH: That is Rachmiel Forschmiedt.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Mr. Rachmiel Forschmiedt is a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Rachmiel Forschmiedt is a very high member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you so know him while you were a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you attend meetings with him?

MR. SMITH: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you make a record of the meetings that you attended where he was present and you were present?

MR. SMITH: Well, I sort of made a file on each fellow and got broke down into files. I think I have some notes that were taken on Rachmiel Forschmiedt in my pocket if you're allowed to use notes.

MR. HOUSTON: Were these notes made at or near to the time of the meetings?

MR. SMITH: I used to attend the meetings and I never wrote anything in the meetings but I developed a good memory for names and faces and when I went home I immediately took and wrote these things out.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe under that explanation that this is an exception to the hearsay rules. Here are notes that were made at or near to the time of the occurrence. I believe they are permissible in any court of law and I would like to recommend that the witness be permitted to use them to refresh his memory at this time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that is entirely all right.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, you may read the notes, Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH: When I diagnosed one of these Communists I always looked in newspapers and saw what he wrote and in the "People's Times" on September 15th, 1947 he wrote an article. On October the 31st, '45 in "The New World" he wrote "Whose Blood." On August the 22nd, '45 in the "New World" on "Sanitations"—on—"Sanitarians"; September 19th, '46, the "New World's" "Hard To Get Teachers"; September the 13th, '46 "Non-White Teachers." These are all articles that he wrote.

**Recounts Many Communist Meetings That City Health Employee Attended**

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have a record there of all the meetings that you attended with him?

MR. SMITH: Yes, I'll read you everything that I've got and you can keep what you want.

December, the 6th, '45, "Win the Peace" rally at the Moose Hall, sponsored by the Communist Party; he was there and I was there.

On November the 12th, '45, Communist Party massed meetings, Ship Scalers. The purpose was—that's the Ship Scalers' Hall—the purpose was protesting U. S. intervention in Chinese Civil War. Huff and Reeves spoke and Forschmiedt was there. Huff and Reeves are head of the Communist Party here in Seattle.

On April the 13th, '45, a leadership meeting at Communist Party Headquarters, Carl Reeve's mother's activities in the party—that's Mother Bloor—he was there.

On June the 10th—no—let's see, no, on June the 11th, '44, Northwest District of the Communist Party, that was a convention at Victory Hall. The purpose of this convention was desire—desire of the political association and set up the Communist Party again. He was there.

On May the 7th, '44, 10:00 a. m. at Unity Convention at Victory Hall. A hundred and nineteen delegates, thirty-one visitors, purpose to coagulate actives in the election of delegates to New York. This was a plenum.

Worker's School, April 19th, '44, 7:30 to 10:00 p. m.—10:30 p. m., Victory Hall. Barbara Hartle,—and this was a compulsory attendance, you had to attend it and they taught the spirit of Marxism.

On March the 7th, '44, member, a ship committee, 340, Mabel Conrad. He was at that meeting.

On March the 25th, '45, Communist Political Association at Moose Hall, to listen to a report from the National Committee meeting, Communist Headquarters in New York, that the delegates had returned.

January the 17th, '45, "Leadership School." This was the leadership training school that you had to have an invitation to—by the head office, to be a student there. Carl Reeves was the teacher. I got to looking into what branch he belonged to. He belonged to the West Seattle Branch in 1935, and Gretchen Cook was the name, I think, of the executive secretary, and there was 4511 36th Avenue Southwest.

On December the 4th, '44, attendance on Williamson's Rally, Shipscaler's Hall. Carl Brooks was chairman. Carl Reeves, Jesse Harris and Barbara Hartle were alike on the rostrum. Forschmiedt was at that meeting.

Now his branch used to hold their Communist meeting in the parish of St. John's Episcopal Church, West Hanford Street and California Street.

On August the 25th, '44, all-out King County Communist Party Political Association, Reeves and Huff, Victory Hall, 7:30 p. m. This was for the 1944 political campaign. Earl George, a Negro, and Louise Brockway were two other Communists that were there. Forschmiedt was there.

Victory Hootenanny, Polish Hall, 1718 18th Avenue, August the 5th, '44, and this was a movie on the negro soldier. This was one of those places where the Soviet films were shown.

MR. HOUSTON: What is a "Hootenanny"?

MR. SMITH: A "Hootenanny"—its a place where everybody goes, and they set up a bar, and they sell beer and whiskey, and they usually have—they used to have them in the Polish Hall where the actresses from the Repertory Playhouse—they were the "Topical Players" then—used to entertain the people, and then you always visited all the different Communists, and those that were under cover could come there and you couldn't prove they were Communists by being in the Polish Hall. It was more or less a public meeting. You would get a lot of look-see guys in there, and you would get people that wandered in there, and you could get in if you had enough money to buy a ticket.

MR. HOUSTON: That's fine, thank you. Now—

MR. SMITH: I think that is—let's see, on January 23rd, '45, a meeting in large executive committee of the Communist Party. That's all executives met there.

February 12th—

MR. HOUSTON: Now wait a minute, was Mr. Forschmiedt at that meeting?

MR. SMITH: What is it?

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Forschmiedt at that meeting?

MR. SMITH: **Yes, he was at all these meetings.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Everyone that you have read?**

MR. SMITH: **Oh yes.**

MR. SMITH: **He was there?**

MR. SMITH: **Everyone.** Then I looked up where he come from. I thought he was one of those NKVD guys, myself, but I found out he wasn't. He might be some connection, but—

MR. HOUSTON: Well that's all, we—that's fine, Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH: Oh, incidentally, I have a few more notes here that he—

In 1931 and '32, he worked for the P.I. as a reporter.

He worked for the American Broadcasting Company from 1930 to '31.

MR. HOUSTON: Well that's fine.

MR. SMITH: That's all I have on him.

MR. HOUSTON: Well that's fine, thank you.

(Demonstration by Mr. Forschmiedt.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: He had his opportunity to talk under oath and he didn't wish to do that.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF FLORENCE BEAN JAMES Co-Director, Repertory Playhouse

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Florence Bean James?

FLORENCE BEAN JAMES, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. James, have you heard the instruction—

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, may I enter my appearance as counsel for Mrs. James?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that Mrs. James' counsel is in attendance.

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard the instructions to other witnesses, have you not, Mrs. James, to speak directly into the microphone and to answer questions audibly and not nod, because the machines can't record a nod.

MRS. JAMES: All right.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MRS. JAMES: Florence Bean James.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mrs. James?

MRS. JAMES: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in Seattle?

MRS. JAMES: 25 years.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mrs. James?

MRS. JAMES: I was born in Pocatello, Idaho.

MR. HOUSTON: And what was the date of your birth?

MRS. JAMES: Oh, I can't remember the date of my birth. I am 55 years old.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mrs. James?

MRS. JAMES: I am co-director of the Repertory—Seattle Repertory Playhouse.

### Refuses to Answer

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. James, I will ask you if you are or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. JAMES: Mr. Houston, I resist with everything I have your right to ask that question, and I stand on my constitutional rights to refuse to answer it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mrs. James, knowing that you have been in the hearing room, I know that you have followed the form of procedure here. We wish to advise you so there will be no mistake that we expect a direct answer to that question, and will proceed against you for failing to testify if you do so, and I want to be sure that you understand the possible penalties for refusal to testify.

Now I will ask Mr. Houston to ask that question again. It may be answered by "yes" or "no," or you may—if you take the alternative, of course we will proceed to cite you for contempt.

Will you ask the question again, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. James, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. JAMES: Mr. Houston, I feel that I have answered the question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You refuse to answer the question, then?

MRS. JAMES: I have answered it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You refuse to answer it with a "yes" or "no" answer?

MRS. JAMES: I have answered.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Step aside.

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, will your record show that I was operating under the same instructions previously given to counsel?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is right. Counsel for Mrs. James is just acting as an adviser to Mrs. James.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF BURTON W. JAMES Director of Repertory Playhouse

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Burton W. James.

MR. O'BRIEN: Will the record show my appearance for Mr. Burton W. James, as well?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will show in the record that you are—Mr. James is represented by counsel.

Stand and be sworn, Mr. James.

MR. JAMES: **Under duress.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We are not accepting any conditions. We wish you to be sworn.

BURTON W. JAMES, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You have heard the instructions that have been given, Mr. James, as to speaking directly into the microphone, as the answers are being recorded?

MR. JAMES: I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. JAMES: Burton W. James.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mr. James?

MR. JAMES: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you been in the city?

MR. JAMES: Well, Mrs. James said 25 years. I think it's 27.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. James?

MR. JAMES: New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: And when were you born?

MR. JAMES: May 12th, 1889.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your business, Mr. James?

MR. JAMES: I'm co-director of the Seattle Repertory Playhouse.

### "I Don't Care to Answer"

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. James—

MR. JAMES: I do not care to answer further.

MR. HOUSTON: **Mr. James, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. JAMES: **I do not care to answer.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. James, you understand the possible penalties for being in contempt of the Legislature?

MR. JAMES: I stand on my constitutional rights, Mr. Canwell.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Failure to answer the questions of this Committee will be held by the Committee as being not responsive—the refusal to testify, and with that understanding in mind I want to ask you again if you are or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. JAMES: I do not care to answer.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Then step aside, please.

MR. O'BRIEN: Will the record show my participation on behalf of this witness was also under the same instructions previously given by the chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is correct.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Albert Ottenheimer take the stand.  
Mr. Ottenheimer excused from attendance, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We excused him—Mr. Ottenheimer's mother is ill or having an operation, and I believe that was to occur today, and Mr. O'Brien stated that he would get him here for us on short notice when we wanted him.

MR. O'BRIEN: That's right, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I do not believe we will—if he is not in attendance now—

MR. O'BRIEN: He is in Tacoma this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes. We will not expect his appearance here this afternoon.

MR. O'BRIEN: I am sure we can have him here in the morning.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: All right, thank you.

MR. HOUSTON: Joseph Cohen please take the stand.

MR. COHEN: I was informed that I would be notified enough in advance to have my attorney here.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is your counsel?

MR. COHEN: Mr. Starin.

MR. HOUSTON: I do recall,—there was so many there.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well I think that we will—

MR. HOUSTON: Will you ask Mr. Starin to be present tomorrow, because we will get to you tomorrow, Mr. Cohen?

MR. COHEN: Tomorrow morning?

MR. HOUSTON: I can't say definitely, but some time tomorrow. In other words will you be prepared to take the witness stand tomorrow?

Will Ted Astley take the stand?

Mr. Chairman, did you excuse this witness?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Is Mr. Ted Astley in the audience?

STATE PATROLMAN: He was taken out this morning.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How far did you take him?

Well we will expect Mr. Astley to be in attendance tomorrow. If you can find him bring him in.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you call another witness, or will we be at ease a few moments?

MR. HOUSTON: Well, I didn't expect quite all of this, Mr. Chairman.

### Research Data on Communist Front Organizations Presented

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Stith, will you take the stand, do you have your data ready? Do you have your stuff?

MR. STITH: Data is what you asked for—a list of the organizations.

MR. HOUSTON: You don't need to be re-sworn.

MR. HOUSTON: You are Mr. Ernest Stith, an investigator for the un-American Activities Committee for the State of Washington that previously testified from that stand?

MR. STITH: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: You were sworn then?

MR. STITH: I was.

MR. HOUSTON: And asked to stand aside, fine.

MR. HOUSTON: What is the occasion of your being on the witness stand now, Mr. Stith?

MR. STITH: You asked me for a list of organizations which—to which various professors were sponsors, members or offices.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you have completed very lengthy documents in this matter, have you not?

MR. STITH: I have, showing how they fit in with the Communist Party line over the years.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you have boiled down here, have you not, just a bare sta—

MR. STITH: Statement of organizations.

MR. HOUSTON: Statement of organizations.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would certainly recommend to the Committee, for it would take several hours to read this lengthy document of very—material to this investigation, that Mr. Stith be permitted to read the list of organizations and the professors involved and that the complete research analysis of his be extended into the record without his reading it from the stand.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I believe that is acceptable and preferable and if you will proceed to read your analysis.

### Communist Front Affiliations of Florence Bean James

MR. STITH: Florence Bean James was a sponsor, member, or officer in the Teacher's Union, Local 401; Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy; Committee to Lift The Embargo on Spain; Women's Committee for Peace, which affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization Movement; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; American Counsel on Soviet Relations; Citizen's Committee for Harry Bridges; Spanish Refugee Appeal; Seattle Labor School or Northwest Labor School, as it's variously called; Win the Peace Movement; Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Progressive Citizens of America; Civil Rights Congress and Emergency Peace Mobilization.

### Burton W. James

Burton W. James was a sponsor, member or officer of Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy; Committee to Lift the Embargo; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Spanish Refugee Appeal; Win the Peace Movement and Emergency Peace Mobilization.

### Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach

Professor Ralph H. Gundlach: Teacher's Union, Local 401; Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy; National Emergency Conference; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; North American Spanish Aid Committee; Peace

Co-ordinating Committee; Emergency Peace Mobilization and American Peace Mobilization; Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Committee for Citizenship Rights for William Schneiderman; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Puerto Rican Freedom Committee; Counsel for Pan-American Democracy; Spanish Refugee Appeal; Northwest Labor School; Win the Peace Movement; Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Progressive Citizens of America.

### **Albert Ottenheimer**

Albert Ottenheimer: sponsor, member or officer in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Win the Peace; Seattle Labor School; the Northwest Sponsoring Conference on China and the Far East; and the Progressive Citizens of America.

### **Prof. Melvin Rader**

Melvin Rader: Northwest Congress against War and Fascism, and also, the Congress for Peace and Democracy; Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy; Harry Bridges Defense Committee; Washington State Sponsoring Committee for Harry Bridges; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Teacher's Union, Local 401; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Win the Peace Movement; Northwest Sponsoring Committee on China and the Far East; Progressive Citizens of America.

### **Professors Joseph Butterworth, Melville Jacobs, Herbert J. Phillips and Harold Eby**

Joseph Butterworth: Teacher's Union and Win the Peace.

Melville Jacobs: Teacher's Union, Local 401; American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and Win the Peace.

Herbert J. Phillips: Teacher's Union, Local 401; Washington Commonwealth Federation; Emergency Defense Conference; Northwest Labor School and Win the Peace.

Harold Eby: Teacher's Union, Local 401; Washington Commonwealth Federation; Defense Committee for Harry Bridges; Washington State Sponsoring Committee for Harry Bridges; American Youth for Democracy; Northwest Labor School; Independent Citizen's Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the Win the Peace Movement.

Garland Ethel I read the other day. You didn't want that, did you?

MR. HOUSTON: Wo—

All these organizations have been cited as Communist front organizations by one or more of the following: Attorney General Biddle, Attorney General Clark, Committee on un-American Activities in the United States House of Representatives, or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California. With the exception of the Teacher's Union, Local 401; and the Pension Union of the State of Washington, which organizations are characterized in the documents.

MR. HOUSTON: In the document that is to be incorporated in the records.

MR. STITH: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Stith. You may step aside.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Chairman, we have a witness that—can't get here until about 5:15 without great inconvenience. I suggest that we be in recess until then but I would like to ask the chairman if he considers it pertinent that we instruct every one of those under subpoena that it is their counsel to be here with counsel tomorrow prepared to testify because there are so many that we just can't keep this thing down where—it is not like there was one person and one counsel. There's just so many that we can't work the schedules.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Witnesses under subpoena will be expected to have their counsel in attendance tomorrow if they wish benefit of counsel. We will not be able to prolong the hearings for delays required in sending for counsel and that sort of thing. We just have too much business to conduct and please be advised that that is the case. We will now be in recess until about 5:15.

(Recess)

### **Sarah Eldredge Recalled and Identifies "Rocky" Forschmiedt and Wife as Communists**

MR. HOUSTON: I'm very sorry, Mrs. Eldredge, to recall you but I failed to ask you one question this morning. Do you know a man by the name of Forschmiedt, Rachmiel Forschmiedt, commonly called "Rocky" Forschmiedt?

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, we called him "Rocky" Forschmiedt and he and his wife were members of my unit.

MR. HOUSTON: Your unit in the Communist Party?

MRS. ELDREDGE: In the Communist Party. He was especially active in that—the Medical Conference that I mentioned this morning and he attended the preliminary meetings and helped to arrange it—these preliminary meetings were held at the Y. W. C. A. and he helped us all the way through and he was a member of that unit for—oh, until I was transferred, I'd say about half as many meetings until I was transferred to another unit, the final unit that I belonged to, the Professional Unit.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you know what Mr. Forschmiedt did at that time? What was his occupation?

MRS. ELDREDGE: He—at that time he was associated with the State Medical Department in the Smith Tower. I was up to the office at one time. I can't give you the office number but it was high and on the upper floors of the Smith Tower.

MR. HOUSTON: Was it the Health Department?

MRS. ELDREDGE: It was the Health Department for the state.

MR. HOUSTON: Is Forschmiedt present?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, he left.

A VOICE: He was ejected.

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, he was ejected.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know what that Mr. Forschmiedt is doing at the present time?

MRS. ELDREDGE: No, I do not.

MR. HOUSTON: But it was Rachmiel—

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, I have a card of his that he gave me some place with the State Health—it was the state health card with his name on the corner.

MR. HOUSTON: And offices in the Smith Tower.

MRS. ELDREDGE: Yes, in the Smith Tower. We called him “Rocky”, that’s all we ever—

MR. HOUSTON: You called him “Rocky.”

MR. HOUSTON: Now, about what year was this?

MRS. ELDREDGE: That was in 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: And you attended more than one Communist Party meeting—

MRS. ELDREDGE: Oh, yes, yes, about half a dozen that he was present at.

MR. HOUSTON: About half a dozen. That’s all.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I think that—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, thank you very much for coming back, Mrs. Eldredge, it was due to our negligence that we didn’t ask that question while you were here before. You may be excused, I—permanently now.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that’s all that I have today.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP H. DAVIS Former Professor, University of Washington

(July 23, 1948. 9:45 o'clock a. m.)

Pursuant to adjournment, the hearing was resumed at 9:45 o'clock a. m., July 23, 1948.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is in session. Call your first witness.

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That can follow in the regular order of business. Call your first witness.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Davis. Phillip Hunt Davis.

MR. DAVIS: Where is my attorney?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, you tell us, if you want one.

MR. DAVIS: Well, of course I want one.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Who is your attorney?

MR. DAVIS: John Caughlan.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Caughlan—you may confer with Mr. Caughlan on the outside. Are you in contact with him?

MR. DAVIS: No, I have to have him here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, you don't have to have him in this room.

MR. DAVIS: That's what you said we could do at the start of the hearing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If you will be seated a moment, I will tell you what our procedure will be in relation to Mr. Caughlan.

MR. DAVIS: Well, I will have to have a lawyer.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you have to have a lawyer to be sworn?

MR. DAVIS: Why certainly.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You don't— You keep quiet and you will hear the instructions. We will instruct you that you may confer with your attorney on the outside, if there are any questions that you are unable to answer without advice of counsel; and you will remain a little less boisterous in this hearing; and now we will proceed—you will proceed to be sworn, and we will let you confer with your—

MR. DAVIS: (Incoherent.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you be sworn, Mr. Davis?

MR. DAVIS: (Incoherent.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Take him out. There is a grave doubt as to his mental competence, and I don't want to carry the responsibility.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Is Mr. Ted Astley in attendance? Mr. Ted Astley. Mr. Ted Astley has been instructed to be in attendance here, and we will expect him to be here shortly. Now, proceed, Mr. Houston.

## TESTIMONY OF GEORGE HEWITT RESUMED

GEORGE HEWITT, having been previously sworn, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: You are George Hewitt, who was on the stand yesterday afternoon?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You were sworn at that time.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You were Educational Director of the Communist Party in the State of New York, for a period of years?

MR. HEWITT: I was, yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now I believe yesterday you had testified as to your membership in the Communist Party and had chronologically taken us through the work, and we had you—you had derived from the Russians.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now is that where you wish to pick up this morning, or do you wish to—first, let's get it in the record this way. When did you leave the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: I left the Communist Party in the year of 1944. I publicly denounced the Party by articles that were published in the "New York World Telegram" and the negro weekly newspaper known as the "Pittsburgh Courier." I had twelve articles in the "Pittsburgh Courier," and more or less the comrades were caught sleeping, for they took some time to answer my accusations. They answered it with a two-inch article that I was dropped for some time. I was never expelled; it was for eighteen years one constant turmoil, they couldn't get the usual things on me like morality and such, and consequently it was a very embarrassed position for the leadership of the Party.

I wish to state, Mr. Houston, that in my teaching of the various thousands, rather, of members in Workers' schools, and secret schools, also in the schools that I taught in Russia, I always emphasized on orders from the leadership of the Communist International, Lenin's very clear premise, in which in Chapter six of this pamphlet, "Left-Wing Communism and Infantile Disorder," quoting Lenin as far back as 1920, he wrote that it was not only permissible, but necessary, for Party members to use any ruse, any cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth, suitable to gain the Party ends sought; also, in the thesis of the fundamental tasks of the World Communist Party, adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International, in July-August that same year, Lenin's precise instructions on permissible Party methods were recorded officially. That is for the benefit of the young members of the A.Y.D. here, and other youthful students who have been effectively roped into this fantasy of world conquest. I ask them to go and read this pamphlet of left-wing Communism for their own benefit.

In reading, then, the American reader should know and keep in mind that under the mere term illegal both Communists and Fascists include murder, assassination, theft, bombings, wrecking of industrial plants, machinery, and many other outrages, which under American standards of law and morals, are classified as crimes.

I further wish to emphasize in connection—this connection, that in my experiences in New York, I had the occasion to meet many prominent non-Communists. Most of them were professors. I list a couple of them, or a few of them. "Dokesy" Wilkinson, professor at Howard University; Dr. Bella Dodd, who was the chief instructor of school systems of New York, and who came here several times; Dr. Max Yeurgan, who was with the Y.M.C.A. in Africa; Alice Sikson, the secret wife of Isidora Begun; Gwendolyn Bennett, a negro school teacher; Morris Schappes, known as Alan Horton, whom I worked with for many years before the authorities knew that he was a member of the Communist Party; Dale Zysman, who wrote the book on American History, under the alias of Jack Hardy; Professor Selsam, of Brooklyn College, who wrote this Communist book on philosophy; Professor Klein, of Brooklyn College.

**I can go on and on, but I mean to emphasize that these people for years challenged anyone to point them out or state that they were members of the Communist Party; yet for years before many of them admitted, I and many officials of the Communist Party, was meeting secretly with them and plotting and planning how we could poison the minds of the American youth, and the American people in this country.**

### Prof. "Dokesy" Wilkinson

I know the case of "Dokesy" Wilkinson. He was up there as a respected Howard professor, and it was not until I was asked to go to a secret meeting to dislodge A. Phillip Randolph, that I myself came in contact with the knowledge that Professor Wilkinson was a member of the Party; and that was at the time I arrived in Washington, D. C., and was asked to go in the back door of the auditorium where only Party members were meeting. That was, I believe, at the National Negro Congress sessions held in 1936, if I'm correct, and it wasn't until about 1940 that "Dokesy" Wilkinson came out and admitted that he was a professor—ah, a Communist.

Bella Dodd, the same thing. Bella Dodd did it at a Madison Square Garden meeting, after many years of evasion, of lies, and methods to conceal her Party membership. She did it in order to enhance the importance of the Party, because the Party had twisted and turned too much, and people were definitely losing respect for it. When Browder made his—when Duclos exposed Browder, so to speak, and Browder was demoted and expelled, Bella Dodd then came out in order to keep the intelligentsia with the Party, and admitted that she was a Party member for many years, but she never stated that the people who said so were correct.

Another case in point—I believe many of you heard of the case a few months back of a newspaper reporter from the "New York Times" who was exposed as being a spy for the United States, against Russia. I fully believe many of you read about it. This newspaper reporter of the "New York Times" was exposed by a girl known as Cecelia Nelson. They never told you that Cecelia Nelson was at one time a member of the Young Communist League back in 1927 and 1928. She is a Finnish girl, a most attractive girl whom they used for many devious purposes, spying, stool-pigeoning, informing upon the comrades that she was working with, so to speak. Miss Nelson, with her family, went to Soviet Korea about the year 1933 and ended up in Moscow and Lenin-grad, to this day.

They picked her out—I think it was a mistake for them to have mentioned her name, because we knew her back in Harlem quite well; and she was



used for the purpose of attempting to parallel the Korea Case, trying to show that America had spies in Russia. They picked some naïve newspaper reporter from the "New York Times" and had Cecelia Nelson do the job of informing.

**I'd like to ask, where was the ethics and the moral code of these people? I say this for the benefit of the professors who have constantly talked of ethics and moral codes.**

### America Must Not Be Intimidated

Yes, my friends, I say emphatically that Americans must not be intimidated by these Communist tactics. These tactics come from the handbook of "Peters' Manual." "Peters' Manual," is a book on organization. It was so bad that even the Communist leaders demanded that it should be taken off the shelf—off Communist bookshelves. In this book Peters incited people to hold thoughts of feitious methods, how to persecute witnesses for the respective—government, how to haunt them, how to interfere with their families, how to—what store to use, and tell them to sell them inferior foods, to run them out of the neighborhood if ever they should represent the American government against the stooges of Stalin's slave state, which is known as the S.S.S. proletarian economy. Remember the initials, the S.S.S., Stalin's slave state.

"Peters' Manual" first appeared in 1930 and then was—then disappeared. It reappeared in 1935. It regards the United States lower than Al Capone's gangster outfit. It is a code of gangsterism. It attempts to mold the minds of people into the mentality of gangster thinking. That is why you hear people, and eminent professors come here, this august body, and attempt to tell you something about morals and ethics. The morals and ethics that they are expounding are morals and ethics of the gangster.

I, for one, resent the American Government being parallel to a gangster outfit. It is something bigger, my friends, I've realized that, due to my bitter experiences. I've realized, my friends, that America is the greatest body on the face of the earth. I've realized that in this America we were able to bring forward a people like Nat Sojurna Truth\* or Crispus Atics\*, who was the first American negro that fell dead in the struggle against tyranny. Although he was a slave, he fought for the preservation of American democracy; or we could mention Nat Sojurna Truth\* and Harriet Tubman\*, women who rode and walked miles to fight alongside of those decent Americans who fought to preserve our country. Yes, they were slaves. They were slaves, and could understand intelligently where their destiny remained. I, as a free man today, am on the side of American democracy. The American democracy has many evils and many wrongs. As a negro, I think I am in a position to testify to that; but I have come to the conclusion that within the framework of American democracy we can improve many of these handicaps, consequently producing more Dr. Carver Washingtons, Marian Andersons, bringing forward Joe Louises, Jesse Owens, and numerous others all down the line that you know of, who are not contaminated with Communism, and who have shown that—what America really represents, a real democracy, not democratic centralism as practiced in the Soviet Union, where everything is debased, where they attempt to show that negroes are lynched on every street corner in the City of New York.

I was asked this question when I was there: why I looked so healthy, so fat. I guess I weighed a little more than I do now, but they couldn't under-

\* Phonetic spelling.

stand it. It was an obvious contradiction to the Russian worker and peasant. How was it possible to have a Joe Louis, in this country that lynched negroes on every lamp post? That was the stuff that the Communists were peddling in Russia, and peddling it effectively among many of these naïve and simple peasants and workers.

Have you any further questions?

MR. HOUSTON: After you arrived in Russia, were you quartered among the students there?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. After the bitter experiences on the boat, we went to—directly to Moscow, via Poland. A very funny thing at a Polish station, there is a tremendous sign there as you come into Russia, a tremendous sign on the station. It says, "Proletarians of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chain; the world to gain." A very effective poster.

We went from there to the—directly to the Lenin School; we were given our aliases, because we had to assume a different name; we were given our dormitories and were told where we would study, and then immediately the same night, rushed to Leningrad to visit the Russian University of Leningrad and observe for a couple of weeks the methods used in the school systems there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, in this body that you went over with, there were both negroes and white people, were there not?

MR. HEWITT: I was with one of the first contingents. In my contingent there were three negroes. The second contingent came a year later; you had some forty-odd negroes and about—close to a hundred white members of the party.

MR. HOUSTON: Did they practice any Jim Crowism over there?

MR. HEWITT: Uh—no, they did not. Uh—I wish to state that, however, that this cannot be credited to the Communists. In Russia, long before the Revolution, there never was any active negro centers in Russia. Uh—There was, however, definite anti-semitic sentiment and so—and in the Old Russia, the Czarist Russia. Remnant of that was seen under the Socialist system. For example, I visited a factory in—known as the Tomsy Zavod.

MR. HOUSTON: Now you'll just have to help with the spelling of that.

MR. HEWITT: Yes. Tomsy is Tomsy and Zavod is Zavod which means "factory" in Russian.

And very naïvely I saw a sign on the line that said \*—"jeeps" with an exclamation point. I said: "Isn't that the word that means 'Jew'?" So, one of the "comrades" nudged me, he sa—he told me to shut up. I said: "But I want to know. Why do they have it there?"

### Racial Prejudices in Russia

So immediately they fussed, with a lot of excitement. They called in the Commissar of Education of the factory and he acted very amazed and surprised. They closed the factory of 4,000 people and called meetings all over the place and by noon they told me they found the culprit who had written this anti-semitic gesture. I asked them: "Well, how long was it there before I came?" He said: "Comrade you talk too much," so I let it go at that.

It was very obvious that the thing must have been there some time because I could hardly read Russian then. I was just spelling out the words and

\* Phonetic spelling.

they were all Russians there. They had the political Commissars there, how in the world couldn't they see that sign?

Another experience was—experience was in Leningrad where at that time the Communists were calling some National Minority Convention in the city of Leningrad and I was staying at the Octobriski\* or October Hotel known as the Octobriski Gostrinita\* I—

MR. HOUSTON: The Russian word for hotel.

MR. HEWITT: I noticed a number of Afghanistans who were—wore their national attire of the sheep skin or cowskin and they were arguing furiously with the clerk. Again, very naïvely, I went up and put my nose into some more trouble.

"Why is—are the men arguing?"

I was told by an interpreter that they refused to a—permit them to register in the hotel and were sending them down to a third-class section of the town.

I said: "Isn't this Soviet Russia? Isn't this proletarian culture that is supposed to be the highest," and they again told me "better keep quiet." "Piki" is the famous word for quiet, "piki."

MR. HOUSTON: Now, how do you spell that?

MR. HEWITT: Phonetically, piki.

MR. HEWITT: Uh—it further amazed me that in any country such as ours or Russia when so many nationalities reside side by side, and there are certain migrations of peoples, you will find maybe 10% of negroes come into one place; another percent the—the J—Jews or Greeks or so forth moving along with the general population.

In Moscow I didn't notice this percentage of people. I saw nothing but great Russians, and usually foreigners. Those were the ones that were distinct from the Russians that I saw and I constantly inquired:

"How come I don't see the dark Armenians and the Afghanistans and"—

MR. HOUSTON: Will you spell that for us—

MR. HEWITT: Well—uh—I would put it then the Caucasians of the lower section of Caucasia from Georgia, and around that area, the Tartans. You never saw them living or mingling too much in Moscow or any of the big cities and sooner I found a little—a little later rather, I found that this was again touching on ticklish questions. Again I was told that I was a little bit too naïve about certain things, we were living in a materialistic world and a whole lot of Communist garbage that became increasingly sickening.

However, in the school itself, Mr. Houston, the thing that amazed me most was the method in which they injected us into the ma—into the organization of military strategy.

### Was Schooled in Use of Firearms, Explosives, Sabotage and Infiltration

I didn't go to Russia to learn to be a military man. I honestly doubt that—here I had a chance to finish my two years, as I was told, of education, work for a degree, and to—and to feel that education, principally through physical education, comes back and enable—work both with white and black to enable the Americans to solve our burning question in our country, and one day informed me that I had to report down to some armory and learn how to take a Russian machine gun apart. I was amazed, but I thought it

\* Phonetic spelling.

was out of conscience and wiseness of my personal safety to concede to the request; I saw the others doing it and we went in this long regiment about twice the size of this block and one of the American students shot too soon and nearly killed a Red Army man who was crossing the path of a machine gun, went then to the revolver section. Then we were taken into the areas of bomb making, hand grenade making; taught how to combine sulphur, sodium, and chloride ma—in the making of chemical things that could be made in less than 15 minutes with rough encasements or cans or bottles or anything you could; how to effectively stay in a hous—a window like this and keep off a detachment of men with a machine gun and the most degrad-ing thing that they taught me was how to spy—a peculiar code of ethics—ethics of the proletariat. We actually went through practice of taking "com-rades" that you didn't know and you were supposed to find him in some part of the city. You only had certain hints.

We went further—they went further in teaching us codes, secret codes, we—how to decipher; how to be used as a front man, and how to worm our way into the very sinews of—of—our respective governments if it was necessary.

Following this course, of course the course went on for the duration of time.

As a means of trying to weed me away from the students who were beginning to rebel, both negroes and whites—we had a number of very excellent white students there who saw through and stuck with the majority of the negroes in the rebellion that took place in 1931, in which Earl Browder was summoned to come to the school and, of course, after he came there he—he delivered a talk that's listed here.

I want to give this for evidence. It's a pamphlet known as "The Negro Question in the United States." If you will bear with me a minute, Mr. Houston, I will try to locate it.

This pamphlet, "The Communist Position on the Negro Question," and the Browder talk in this student rebellion, uh—uh—took about an hour. The discussion took four days. However, the speeches of the students were not recorded. Browder's high f—falutin talk was recorded but they made one mistake. They didn't want the American public to know about this. They sent the extract from a report to a meeting of American students on behalf of the Central Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., on the subject of the struggle for negro rights in connection with the relations between white and negro students in the school. The mistake they made was to emphasize to the American students, very clear that this was in Russia.

I could—give this to Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe this has been properly identified, Mr. Chairman, and the—it's published by the "Worker's Library" publishers, which we've had previous testimony and previous hearing, is the Communist Party Publishing House. Uh—I believe that will be entered as an exhibit and I ask that it, in view—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 27, and so identified.

(WHEREUPON, the pamphlet referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 27.)

MR. HOUSTON: To—a—Mr. Hewitt, Mr. Witness, do you wish this back, this pamphlet.

MR. HEWITT: Well, I believe the Committee could use it to the best of their ability, if it's possible, however, I—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, Mr. Chairman, this has been properly identified and the section you wish was read in, was it not, Mr. Hewitt?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, then, I wouldn't see any reason why the entire pamphlet should be put in as—

MR. HEWITT: Thank you.

MR. CANWELL: Well, then, we'll strike that identification from the record.

MR. HEWITT: I have with me—may I continue Mr. uh—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. HEWITT: I have with me, Mr. Houston and members of the Committee, exposed excerpts, let us see, 1932, I think that's close to 18 years. This was a mimeographed—uh, not mimeographed but typed copy and I have made two. The only way that I could secure paper was to get the paper off of the school curricular. What we had—our program of study on one side.

Our program of study has, for example, an American way to build up the history of the American working class that we thoroughly analyzed in the Lenin School.

And the subthemes was done on old mimeograph paper of the report of the United States Communist Party of America before the Second World Congress.

The Russian edition, reports for the Second Congress, stating pages 251 to 259 in Russian and in English material in the library.

In this library which we called the Bibliopek\* in the Lenin School, the person in charge at the time when I was there, was Mrs. Earl Browder. She wasn't known to us as Mrs. Browder. She was a G.P.U. agent under the name of Rise Burkman who was sent to spy on the American students and it wasn't until we returned to the United States that I—was I confronted with this same librarian. I was nearly shocked because I—I assumed immediately that uh—the woman was—all of her friendly gestures were exaggerated to get reports about me to the high power that be in the Communist Party here.

### Personally Hand Stalin List of Grievances

However, on the next side of the paper we typed some of our grievances arising out of this discussion that Browder did not correct.

Yesterday I mentioned to you how one of our lads, a young negro chap, one of the rebellious students, was cremated, liquidated, as they tell you, and I came across last night this old excerpt which I handed personally to Joseph Stalin and in it it says:

"Dear Comrade Stalin:

"As members of the American Communist Party and temporary members of the C.P.S.U. we are addressing our grievances to you as a last resort.

"On many occasions these grievances have been addressed to various bodies of the C.P.S.U., the bureau nucleus of the Lenin School, the Tromski Rayon\* Committee, the Comintern, the Angelo-American Secretariat, the Political Secretariat of the Eccei, known as the E.C.C.I., yet finally no satisfaction, or no satisfactory solution has resulted.

\* Phonetic spelling.

"Therefore, we are appealing to you, the leader of the International Proletarian Revolution, whom we believe the best interpreter of, and the rightful successor of Lenin, to take the situation in hand."

And at this point—I'm not going to read all of this—it's thirty pages. I don't want to take your time for that, but it's important that I mention this. It states our grievances in this connection centered around the national colonial question in general, the American Negro question and the treatment of Negroes, generally.

If further went on to state the—a recent grievance or difficulty. A few weeks ago a Negro comrade in the Far Eastern University was cremated without any of us knowing why—why he was sick, how he came to be sick, and I went on relating how Gidenski\* attempted to push me in the nose, in the back of the door and threatened me, stating that Russia was not afraid of the world, therefore it was not afraid of little me.

Uh—we didn't feel very confident of getting any sort of a satisfactory answer from the Secretary of the Party then, Joseph Stalin, but we took a chance. We took a chance because we knew that they were looking for recognition; that they were banking for American recognition. They didn't know to what extent we had already written home. I, for one, had told them when they sent me into Korea, to Paris, via Berlin, that I had visited the American Consulate and had related my desire to get home. I lied at that time. I didn't visit the American Consulate but I did this as a means of securing myself, letting them believe the Americans in the American Consulate, my family and everybody knew about my position and for these reasons Stalin came with a resolution favoring the rebellion of the students against the corrupt leadership that was there.

### Identifies Corrupt Leadership in U. S.

However, to this day, this corrupt leadership is in every leading position in the United States, and now that the line has changed again toward class war Mr. Stalin has effectively placed these people, whom he decided was the worst that ever could be placed in strategic positions throughout the United States.

I have in mind, for example, people like Marce—Marcel Scherer.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you spell that?

MR. HEWITT: Marcel Scherer. A man who—who is interested in fine technical and scientific matters, whom I understand had the opportunity with Louie Sass, who came here to Seattle at one time, to meet all of the professors that came on this stand. He went through the length and breadth of California. He penetrated into the California, I believe, M—M.I.T., Sch—School of Technological Science, or something of this nature, made contacts all through them, made contacts in Southern Cal., Stanford, wrote back reports to the Central Committee of the Party.

**I, in the year of 1931-32, constantly saw Marcel Scherer in the halls of the Lenin Schools. He was then the secret husband of Lena Davis. He was not supposed to be known as her husband.**

I have here, if the Committee and Mr. Houston care to utilize this meeting with Red Army Commanders in the Far Eastern section of Russia, along with Lena Davis who was the interpreter of our group. She spoke Russian fluently, there you have the picture of the commanders.

\* Phonetic spelling.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, we're going to have to spell these names—

MR. HEWITT: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: —or are they all written on the back—

MR. HEWITT: No, that's just a greeting from this Commander. Miss Lena Davis and Marcel Scherer was in close contact with this Red Army secret service division of the Far-East.

**He had a network of cleverly laid spies all through the Far-East that reached from here to Alaska clear through Washington, Oregon and California.** Today this Lena Davis is one of the big National Committee figures, I believe in the State of Jersey or New York. She was with us a number of years in the National Education Department in New York City. And this, however, is in connection with another attempt of the Russian officials to keep me away from the rebellious students, in which they very nicely elected me to this Far-Eastern delegation. I happened to be eleven days on a trans-Siberian railroad, where I saw proletarian culture in the raw. I saw the first class, second class, and third class business of the railroads, and I wondered why.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to request the witness, if you please, that we be permitted to copy this photograph which is a picture of some eleven people with the witness clearly identified, both sitting beside a man in a military uniform—on the further side of a lady whom he's identified. I would like the privilege of copying this and introducing into the record a copy of this.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The copy will be accepted as Committee's Exhibit number 27.

*(WHEREUPON, a duplicate of the picture referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 27.)*

### Is Isolated

MR. HEWITT: And this Far-Eastern trip on which I worked very closely with the—the Red Army high officials, I—of course the American leaders on that trip, which meant Lena Davis and this Marcel Scherer who left us at various cities and picked us up at another city, they were not inclined to have me go around as much as the Red Army—the Russian officials. They informed the Russian officials to keep me from going to the homes of many of the people, who invited me to stay at their homes when I was in a respective city, or to come to this Tea Garden and I was strictly disciplined not to accept.

It got to the point where—when a man travels on the train cooped up, people watching you, preventing you from talking to anyone—you get into the city, they don't want you to talk to anyone—you become rebellious too. And the result was I brought this to the attention of Commander Konchenta, Konchto\*—something phonetically in that order, and he couldn't understand for a while why there was such an alarm against them having me talk to the Russians. I was picking up the Russian language very fast and the Russians were asking me a lot of questions. Some of them—many of them thought I was from Africa. They called me an Africansky; later they called me an Americansky.

Many of the peasants would rub my skin to see if I was dirty. The familiar term that was "Why are you so 'Grazmia'?"\*, which means, why are you so dirty? I took it in the same spirit that I took the remark, yesterday, because I knew there was no basis to it, among those people. So the same person that

\* Phonetic spelling.

calls me "dirty" in a joking way would invite me in and give me the finest feast of the proletariat—that is the food that they were able to get.

MR. HOUSTON: Usually, what does that consist of?

MR. HEWITT: Oh, well—in the Far-East you would have the—among the higherups you would have caviar—there was Vodka that I never touched, although the Americans tried to claim that I was a drunkard—I never drank in my life—the American Communists, I mean. That's what was one of their pet character assassinations. They would have all sorts of fisheries, pork, veal—everything mentionable for the—

MR. HOUSTON: That's the higher up?

MR. HEWITT: —for the bureaucracy.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, what would these poorer people have—

MR. HEWITT: The people—the poor people would be very lucky if they had the meats, the various sections of meats that they usually served to the higher people. Usually on their table would be sometimes rotten apples, a few good ones, eggs that were rare—that we were able to get, usually canned foods in which plenty of horsemeat was in it, and I very unknowingly ate much of this, it tasted good then—doesn't in my imagination taste so good now.

However, in this point I'd like to cite that at one time I went to the place known as the Hamlet of Gorki; this is back in the eastern part of Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: Gorki?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, Maxim Gorki, named after the famous Russian writer. And after we ate, we students in the school—we were told to walk around. The group was led by Clarence Hathaway's wife who's known in Russia as Vera Saunders, Saunders.

She took the food that the students had—that they had left over and made a fire of it—burned it. Inside of twenty minutes you had every peasant in that village with pitchforks, scythes and everything, ready to take the lives of every American student in that picnic. And the only thing that saved our lives was my reappearance on the scene. It was in the summer and the sun was very hot there and I had become very black. To be very black in Russia you become very popular, and the peasants saw this black man coming up, they were amazed and their anger was diverted momentarily to my reappearance and they asked me whether this was correct or not. And I went against Party leadership and I said it was wrong. That saved our lives, but my political life was endangered because I was severely criticised for criticizing the Comrades for burning food. Little mites that the peasants—that meant much to the peasants, you see. This food—these potatoes and black bread that the Russian people—peasants had at their feast, day-in and night-out.

### Hewitt Meets Stalin on Four Different Occasions

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you have referred to giving a document to Mr. Stalin. Can you tell us just a little more about that. Where was that at, in the Kremlin? And did you take it in? Tell us—

MR. HEWITT: I had the occasion to meet Mr. Stalin on four different times.

One was at the—a regular dinner in the Kremlin with the President Kalinin, Kaganovitch—

MR. HOUSTON: Will you spell those names if you can?

MR. HEWITT: Kaganovitch. Kallinen, Kallinen, Molotov, Molotov, which means "hammer" in English.

MR. HOUSTON: -toff?

MR. HEWITT: -tov. That's the way we spelled it over there, with a Russian "v". Molotov. I think the American parallel is -off.

There were many other luminaries. The purpose, of course, was to dazzle you with the grandeur of Soviet power. Why, for a young student to come right before the Generalissimo or the President of the Soviet Republic was indeed a great experience. There I saw the diplomatic side of Comrade Stalin, so to speak. **On another occasion I saw Mr. Stalin in one of his real mean moods.** That was with a criticism of Earl Browder, in which Mr. Stalin very sharply made Browder look like a penny—criticized severely Mr. Browder's theories on the Chinese question, calling Mr. Browder all sorts of names and acting in a most peculiar way for a leader of the proletariat.

It was then, on another occasion on a demonstration in a smaller city in which Stalin was invited there as the big man to enhance the feelings of these people in the City of Tula. I was on the regular stand with Mr. Stalin and for a time felt rather proud of myself. I handed this document to Joseph Stalin, the fourth time—the Comintern headquarters. This is—must be disassociated from the Kremlin headquarters, you see. It was not far from the Kremlin—they had a secret passage, of course, in the back from the Kremlin to the Comintern for the Soviet Government, because the Soviet Government was really disguised—the power of it was disguised by the Party Lines, and let no one believe that the government really was the power. It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that not only was the power over Russia but the power over the entire Communist World.

I had difficulty in getting into the Kremlin and I was able to bribe the girl at the switch-board with an American ten-dollar bill.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now was this the time you handed this document—this document to Stalin?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, do you mean the Kremlin or the Comintern.

MR. HEWITT: The Comintern building. You see—at a meeting in which they were discussing problems not associated with the American question—and I gave this to Stalin. He thanked me courteously and wondered how I got into the place.

He told me to sit down, for it didn't concern me. Everything was, I believe in French at the time. They had interpretations, of course, but nothing was supplied to me in English—but I did the job I was sent there by the students—to get the document to Stalin. We did it reluctantly, but we took a chance, as I stated before, which enabled us to save many of us to return to the United States, to the land of democracy.

### Teaches in Lenin School in Moscow

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you subsequently teach in the Lenin Institute?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, I did. I had the occasion to teach Political Economy to the Russians, in English—and Physical Education, which included the question of teaching Americans how to—I mean Russians how to play baseball. Many Russians wanted to know how to chew gum.

This was one of the methods used to ridicule the United States. They had it in all of the various little Repertory Theatres, of slander and character

assassination of people who would adopt American culture. Chewing gum was one of the means of showing the Russian how decadent American culture was.

I can say that in one of the meetings we had here in the Cultural Committee of the Lenin School, they—the Russians fell upon the terminology of calling Americans "fool" balls, meaning that Americans were always interested in football, so let us kick them around, they said; first, let us name them fool balls, and this thing only registered real contempt for me. I saw it as unsportsmanlike; it had nothing to do with the realm of sports; and I could say that I didn't register from the Russian authorities much pleasure, because of my firm opinions and my naiveness in telling them so.

### Sent Back to America

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you were able to return to the United States because of pressure that Earl Browder brought?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, Earl Browder, in this meeting that he reported, openly threatened me. I took the floor and opposed Earl Browder, which I understood was another simple act, from the Communist point of view, and I just simply told Browder that I didn't give a tinker's dam about the way he has protected the "yes" men; I refused to be one who would say "yes" when I didn't believe it; and I didn't think the Communists wanted us to be that way; and of course in his reply he embarrassed me before a thousand students of every nation of the world. Of course, after the meeting many of these students came over and secretly shook my hand, and beckoned me not to say anything about it.

They not only—they were not only out to get me, but to get many of the other "stupid," that were dissident. We decided that the best way to do, the best way to serve the American people, was to remain and to bring them out in the open. Let them do the expelling, if it was necessary; or if the time was ripe, to go along and continue to expose all of their dirty deals; and in this manner, it was not after I returned, no accident, that I very closely calculated, remembered, placed on paper, studied thoroughly all of the people and all of the professors and doctors and intellectual—as Lenin called Gorki, intellectual "stupes," who would go along with this insidious ilne of overthrowing the institutions of the United States.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, as a result of your difficulties with Mr. Browder here, he brought pressure which had you recalled to the United States, did he not?

MR. HEWITT: All of us.

MR. HOUSTON: Caused you to be—

MR. HEWITT: White, too.

MR. HOUSTON: White, too.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, when you returned to the United States, which you have testified was the latter part of 1933 or early 1934, as I recall, what position were you then given in the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: Mr. Houston, I was asked to become a District Organizer in the State of Louisiana. I refused. They then decided that I must, under Party discipline, go to the section of Long Island, a well-known Ku Klux section in Long Island. Nassau in Suffolk County, in New York.

MR. HOUSTON: These were assignments that are within the prerogative of Earl Browder, and the National Committee, are they not?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

### Florence Bean James in Moscow

MR. HOUSTON: Now just before—I don't—we've got to hurry along—but in your testimony the other day you stated that you, in two places, that you had seen a woman by the name of Florence Bean James in Russia.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And that there were other occasions in America. Would you elaborate on that just a little bit?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, one of the most popular places for people of the Cultural International Communist field—center, I would say, in Moscow was known as the Meyerhold Theatre. I was very intimate with the aides of Mr. Meyerhold.

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell that?

MR. HEWITT: Meyerhold. Meyerhold. It was the Repertory Theatre of Moscow, in which two very prominent Y. C. L.ers known as Konja and Eva, were in charge of this place. **I was very intimate with these people, went to school, and who would help in the cultural work, and included in this was their homes, discussed very loosely the Americans who would come to the Mrs. James.**

MR. JAMES: **You're a liar.**

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wish to state for the record at this time that we have a request by counsel for a reluctant witness, who is willfully in contempt for refusal to give testimony. This request indicates a desire to challenge testimony.

We have made every reasonable and consistent effort to get such witness to tell her story under oath. This, she was obviously unwilling to do. We cannot, as a Committee of the Legislature, accept a condition that a witness testify only to information of her or her selection. As to the questions brought up by counsel, they will be discussed with our investigators and considered, but we cannot take the position that a witness who refuses to testify has any standing on his own until he does willingly come to the stand, tell his story, answer the questions that this Committee has a right to ask. Then that person has every right to tell their part of the story; and we will proceed with no further disturbances from the back of the room.

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Chairman, this Committee—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will ask to have you removed, Mr. O'Brien and Mr. James, if we have any further outbursts back there.

MR. O'BRIEN: Perjurer—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Take him out.

**I wish to state, also, that we cannot, as a Committee of the Legislature, permit the Communists, their friends, or advisors, to take over a function of the Legislature. These hearings are held for legislative purposes, and they are not held as a forum to debate the authority of the Legislature, and I want that strictly understood that these hearings are held for legislative purposes only.**

Shall we proceed?

MR. HEWITT: Mr. Houston, I only wish that the procedure was a different one, in which the method of cross-examination could be used. My ex-

periences in dealing with these people who adopt the decisions of the Party in concealing the truths, I've seen them in the Santo trial in New York, they had an attorney there who called me a perjurer, a liar and everything; and he was trembling because I asked him one little question, "Remember the time you joined the Y. C. L., Mr. Sacher? and again he shouted, "Perjurer."

MR. HOUSTON: That's Sacher, isn't it?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, Thad Sacher, yes, sir. He knew that I had proof, and I—as I have proof here now, of the participation of these very effective persons who are carrying out the Party line to the "T" in character assassinating, the representatives of our form of government who would have the courage to come before you and state their mind. He has every right in the world; they have every right in the world, to call me that; I have every right in the world to prove that I am telling the truth.

In this light is doesn't affect me one iota.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you just described that at the directors of the Moscow Theatre they had discussed Mrs. James.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you continue there.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, at this particular theatre known as the Meyerhold Theatre, with these directors, this Konja and this Eva, the theatre was situated on a street known as Truskya\* Boulevard. All of the cultural figures of the world met in the Meyerhold Theatre and discussed culture from the point of view of keno, movies, stage, they even went to such an extent of getting several people from the City of Seattle to come—in the making, to come to Russia for the purpose of making a movie. It surprises me that these people haven't come forward, who were participants in this keno.

James W. Ford and Marcel Sherer were the ones responsible for selecting the personnel of these—of this movie, a movie called "Black and White." The purpose of this movie was to expose the United States as an exploiter of the Negro people. James Ford was given the power to go all over the nation and select, not particularly people too close or too well known as Communists, but Negroes who would play the role of the proletarian of this country. Ford made the mistake of selecting very light-skinned Negroes; the Russians didn't want that. They claimed they wanted people that looked more like Negroes. They didn't consider me one. I was a little light for them. Only in the summertime, when the sun darkened me, did they regard me as a—*as a*—a genuine Negro; but at this—they had people like Dorothy Thompson, who is now married to Mr. Patterson, in the City of Chicago. She was—along after she came back they gave her a big position in the International Workers' Order. You had people like Cane and Postick, who are today writers on the "New York Post." They were two who led a rebellion against the whole business because the picture was called off. It appeared that the United States had agreed to recognize Russia, and it wasn't necessary for the pressure. And therefore, they told these people, they gave them plenty of American dollars to have a good time, and have trips off to the Ukraine, and the Caucasus; a number of them remained there to this day; most of them came out very angry, like wounded polecat.

The picture was never made, and it has been a subject of contention to the present time.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what you are saying then, that there are other people who were actually, and could testify to the things that you are testifying to about Mrs. James.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And one of those people is here in the City of Seattle, are they not?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

### **Mrs. James at Comintern Headquarters**

MR. HOUSTON: To your knowledge. All right. Now, did you see or hear Mrs. James at any other places in Russia?

MR. HEWITT: As I stated, Mrs. James was considered to be of prime importance, from the point of view of cultural infiltration. We discussed these things very thoroughly, and there was no bones about it, that they were definitely out to see to it that the "spark plug" of cultural activity would be emanated from the knowledge and the work of the Jameses. We mentioned their names repeatedly, and then following this on their arrival—the arrival of Mrs. James, **I had the occasion to know and see her in the Comintern headquarters, the Profintern Building which was the Trade Union. They had the cultural trade union activities there; They prepared the Paris Conference there on cultural activity; I noticed that she was supposed to have gone there, but I don't know this for sure, but I do know that she appeared before these high authorities in this section of the Soviet Union.**

MR. HOUSTON: All right, thank you. Now, we've got you back in the United States now, and they were about to give you a position of organizer down in a district in New York.

MR. HEWITT: First, Louisiana; then they gave me Long Island.

MR. HOUSTON: Long Island.

MR. HEWITT: The purpose was to get rid of me. The Ku Klux Klan was very strong there so I thought upon a scheme of outwitting them. I went to the stronghold of the Klan, and I recruited Sullivan, one of the leaders of the Glen Cove Klan, and they wondered how I did it. I said, "Just being natural, that's all."

Sullivan gave me all sort of talk that he didn't think a Communist would behave like I did. He said, "This Communism must be different," and he came in and he so found out very differently then, what things were, really.

I went from there to the Trade Union of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: I think we have reached a breaking-off point, where we could have a few minutes recess, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You are intending to call this witness back?

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, yes. Immediately after recess.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Hewitt, in your testimony you have returned to the United States, and the question about what position you were to have upon your return here.

Now this was a number of years ago, wasn't it?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What, to the best of your recollection, is the date you returned from Moscow?

MR. HEWITT: The latter part of 1933. Then I was ushered into the work of Section Organizer. From there I went to the trade unions; and from the trade unions I went back upstairs to the State Committee, working closely with the National Political Bureau of the Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, in your testimony the other day you said that you thought you went to Russia early in 1930 and returned early in 1934. Yesterday, that you thought it was in late 1939.

MR. HEWITT: '33. '29.

MR. HOUSTON: '29.

MR. HEWITT: Yeah.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, can you clarify that, which you think is correct, and how a mistake could occur of that kind?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. It's quite possible that in the sequence of dates that one could confuse a certain date, such as dates eighteen years back. I'm not an authority on remembering time, hour, days, but generally one can fit a certain situation in a category of events. It is very clear that a number of people could be in the Soviet Union in the year 1934. I don't doubt this, but it's very definite that the people were there in 1932, without a question of doubt.

I had occasion to work with the school's passport division, and I know that even in the case of myself, I never went to Russia. If I had been in the Communist Party to this day, nobody could prove that I was ever in Russia. We had a very thorough system of getting the prominent people there without ever being known, and I dare say I can secure some of the proof of that, for the benefit of the Committee here and the City of Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: It's been testified to in other cases, in Immigration cases and before other committees?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, that's best to your knowledge and belief then, those are the correct dates?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

### **Saw Mrs. James in Russia in 1932**

MR. HOUSTON: You saw this party, Mrs. James, in Moscow, when?

MR. HEWITT: 1932.

MR. HOUSTON: 1932.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And the purpose of that was—what was the purpose?

MR. HEWITT: To be given decisions on the forthcoming Paris convention of culture that was eventually held in 1934.

MR. HOUSTON: You saw this person over a period of several weeks?

MR. HEWITT: About two to three weeks.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, as a high official of the Communist Party, you have knowledge of your own as to where they have covered up the fact that people went different places?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Can you tell us how that is done, some occasions?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. Well, for example, I could start with myself. I



was called into the National office, given a certain address of a very prominent doctor in the west end, where to my surprise I met certain lawyers who had other Negro comrades there ready to swear that they were my uncle, or nephew. That's in the records of the passport. This individual came down to the passport office, swore that I was a resident of—born in the—I believe, Blackville, South Carolina. I never saw South Carolina; and therefore, I went away under the name of Edward Jackson.

When I got to the Polish border, I was given the name—my passport was taken by the Gay-Pay-Oo, and I was then given the name of George James. That name I palled around in Russia under. On my return, I was given the name Timothy Holmes, when I returned to the United States.

So, in short, George Hewitt never went to Russia; and there are hundreds of cases—of course there are cases that a person is told to go to Russia under their real name, and this is obviously to show that everything is on the up; but where one person goes under that open name at a certain time, there are thousands of spies, saboteurs, going under assumed names, coming in from the eastern coast via Alaska, Vladivostok, Cheka, Nikolaifsk, Dragaveshins\*, cities that I have met them, people who never were supposed to have left; for example, this gentleman here in the picture, one that was under the alias of Edwards, the picture I submitted to you a minute ago, the fellow in the middle called Edwards. I don't—I have it here. This gentleman here. He is known as Edwards there in the—but he never left the United States. I saw him several times in New York—

MR. HOUSTON: You mean as far as the records go, he never left the United States. Is it possible that a person would go once under their own and right name and other times under names of—

MR. HEWITT: We have hundreds of cases within the apparatus of secret passport division work in the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, we will move along as fast as we can. After you were in the Bronx—or, New York there as an Organizer, then how did you get off into the educational field?

MR. HEWITT: Well, after organizing the floor boys in the Furriers' Union, it appeared that Ben Gold, the National Committee man, protested that I was gaining too much popularity among the workers, and that the safest place would be to keep me close to the big fellows, where they would possibly try to break or make me; and in this manner—they didn't even wait for the convention—I was in the year of '36, '35, inducted, or co-opted, as they used, into the—into the state leadership of the Communist Party. There I was placed upon the National Educational Board, teaching in the Workers' School for more than eight years, and then teaching in secret and professional schools for the same period of time, schools of a national and of a state nature.

### Worker's School Students Attend Under Aliases

MR. HOUSTON: Well, you organized these two schools you testified about yesterday?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And these were highly confidential schools of the Communist Party.

MR. HEWITT: Extremely so, because it was the first venture following the decisions arrived at in Moscow, we had to be very careful of the people we

selected. We were instructed, they were instructed how to behave, how to lie, how to use every ruse, how to use every example of, as they called it, bourgeois technicality, or legal bourgeois rights to smear anyone that would divulge or disclose their identity.

MR. HOUSTON: Were there methods in vogue in the Communist Party whereby a person could apparently hide his attendance at one of these schools?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. Very possibly.

MR. HOUSTON: What—do you know how that could be done?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, I mean practically all of the students of the school, with the exception possibly of known teachers that taught the school; there were George Siskin, and others, would be covered by assuming false names in the school. Number one. Number two, in the school itself, while the sessions were going on, denoting various, different sections of the country that they came from; if one came from Washington, he'd say that he came from New Mexico; if one came from New York, he'd say that he came from Ohio; but we had the code methods of the real places and the real names of the individuals.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, was Louis F. Budenz at that school?

MR. HEWITT: I understood that Mr. Budenz lectured at the school, at a time when I was lecturing at the state school.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know whether or not Manning Johnson went up to that school?

MR. HEWITT: I don't recall at that time, because Manning Johnson—they had effected a smear campaign against Mr. Johnson, and about that period of time was—he was on the verge of being liquidated, so to speak.

MR. HOUSTON: Would the then members of the National Committee of the Communist Party probably know who—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Because it was screened through there.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you testified that two Seattle people were there.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You're positive of this? I say, you are positive of this?

MR. HEWITT: Definitely.

MR. HOUSTON: No question or doubt?

MR. HEWITT: No, sir.

### Communist Party Is Revolutionary

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I'll ask you, is the Communist Party revolutionary in character?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. May I just state in this respect a few things that I jotted down?

I would say that the Communist Party is revolutionary to the extent that this leadership of the Soviet Union directs them to be. By that I mean the strategy and tactics that I explained briefly yesterday is directed from the Executive Committee of the Communist International or the Cominform, as you will. They tell them when the strategy should be changed which is a long-range—uh—prosp—has a long-range prospective or whether quick range tactics are changed.

In many instances the party doesn't appear revolutionary and a cross-example of this is the—is the decision handed by the then C.P.A. or the Com-



munist Party of America which had advised the "comrades" not to be so revolutionary. Russia needed company. So they very secretly dissolved the Communist Party in the South. The members didn't even know that the Party wasn't operating in the southern states. We who were on top tried to tell them and they looked at us like—uh—no one's business.

But however, when the line changed again back to the revolutionary actions, they came out with a system of "breast beating." I don't have to state it much, it's in the "Daily Worker" of New York, Monday, July 23rd, 1945, and one fellow says here:

"Dear Comrades:" he says

"We have not yet been told how the National Board and the National Committee arrived at the decision to dissolve the Party in the south. However, if we are to learn anything from the experiences of the European parties we must conclude that by dissolving the Party in the south we did incredible harm to the national liberation struggle of the Negro people, you see."

And Mr. Ford gives another excerpt of how—how sad he felt when they went from revolutionary to passive and then back again.

In this—in one of these excerpts Comrade Peters, who wrote the "Manual of Peters," he says that,—incidentally Peters was an American representative of the Soviet government to the United States. He was an American "Rep."

Mr. Peters often repeated this statement. He says:

"In answering comrades who have criticized the methods of the party," he says, "we are in power now. When you are in power you can put your ideas into effect any way you want."

I heard this speech of Peters. He jotted it down in the Lenin School and if this is (?) the man today who is up for deportation, I understood that he also swore that he wasn't in Russia, and he had re—and he had proof, too, that he wasn't there but somebody else had different proof.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what is the general line of the Communist Party in attempting to recruit the Negroes?

MR. HEWITT: Well, not only Negroes, but Americans generally. Of course Negroes, they have what they call a special approach. Uh—you have to handle the Negro people delicately because of the sensitive position of the Negro. You have some half truths in this approach. However, I found out in life that the very—the most natural approach is the best. They delve upon his—the many shortcomings in our American Democracy such as certain lynchings and jokes about Negro people; seize upon this and try to tell the Negro people that they should—th—organize and set up that section of the black-belt of the Negro Nation, divorced from the general American Republic.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, have you ever run across the program of the Communist International published in 1939?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that a correct representation of the attitude of the Party?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, it includes the 21 points of admission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This—these 21 points, I believe, were devised and formulated in 1920 and to this day they haven't changed this principle.

MR. HOUSTON: Those statements there as to where they must smash the existing apparatus in (?) the existing society—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —is still the objective?

MR. HEWITT: It is the definite objective and principle of the Communist Parties of the world.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, this "Peters' Manual" you have reference to, is that the manual written by J. Peters in which there's a foreword by Jack Stachel?

MR. HEWITT: It is.

MR. HOUSTON: And that is an official expression of the purpose and aims of the Communist Party,—

MR. HEWITT: It is.

MR. HOUSTON: and it's methods, is that correct?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what was the attitude of the Communist Party to the defense program of the United States before the war?

MR. HEWITT: Of course before the war it was the mobilization—American Peace Mobilization that came out with the slogan of "The Yanks are not Coming," picketing the White House in Washington, D. C., and, of course, following the attack of Hitler against Soviet Russia, the line changed—the tactical line changed overnight.

### Communist Party Line Today

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know what the line of the Communist Party today is about—defense?

MR. HEWITT: **It has returned back to class struggle, Mr. Houston, where ruthless war must be waged against America, her institutions. The state must be abolished. A Proletarian Dictatorship must be set up and they have gone to far extents to put this whole method into effect.**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, you have held high positions in the Communist Party. You've been Educational Director, you've been sent to Russia by them.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: As an expert witness would you testify as to whether a Communist loyalty was to the United States or to Soviet Russia?

MR. HEWITT: Always to the fatherland, Soviet Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: Is there any question about this?

MR. HEWITT: No doubt, no doubt.

MR. HOUSTON: In case of war with the United States and Russia where—which side would they be on?

MR. HEWITT: They would—in this event they say that they do not consider this an imperialist war. Any war that Russia is involved in is supposed to be a people's war. They ignore the fact that Russia, screening itself behind the slogans of Marxisms is definitely imperialism. It has to expand just like any other country. The only difference is that the Communist leaders don't tell you this and they screen it off with the theory of—the fantasy of Marxism that we can build Socialism in one country and at the same time, piece by piece, they have—endeavored—and—they—and entered into one of the greatest Imperialist's policies that the world has ever seen. I do not have to agitate the ladies and gentleman of this audience or you, Mr. Houston, or the members of the Committee as to the practical steps taken by Joseph Stalin in acquiring his imperial rule throughout the world.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you think that Communist country—Communist countries and—democracies, such as the United States and Great Britain, can live side by side in complete peace for many years?

MR. HEWITT: **The democracies request that but the—the Stalinist Dictatorship, the power of five or six men in the Kremlin, definitely reject it.**

MR. HOUSTON: In the Sov—in the Communist Party it is taught that eventually there must be war between the democracies—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —and the Communist countries?

MR. HEWITT: They base this on the dialectical materialistic approach that the clash of the systems are inevitable, and, of course, they place it from the scientific realm into the realm of history where they say the state represents the class of Capitalism that will struggle against the class of the workers and one of the two must destroy themselves.

MR. HOUSTON: And that is taught in their secret schools?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And printed in their literature?

MR. HEWITT: Printed in their literature and screamed from the rooftops.

### Hewitt Gives Reason for Leaving Party

MR. HOUSTON: Now, why did you get out of the Communist Party?

MR. HEWITT: I got out from the Communist Party, my dear Mr. Houston, a very a—the uh—excuse me—(Is overcome with emotion).

MR. HOUSTON: You discussed that at length, Mr. Hewitt, I just wanted to see if you could pin point it a little more. I realize this is a matter of great emotion to you. Let's put it this way. There's never been a Negro traitor to the United States Government, has there?

MR. HEWITT: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: And did you realize that if you continued on in this after the war with the plans that were being made, that the issue was no longer one of cooperation between Russia and United States,—

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: —that you would become a traitor to your country?

MR. HEWITT: I would. Not only that, Mr. Houston, it was the simplicity of a simple black woman, my mother, who died in 1938, who warned me about this incredible fantasy that practically brought my mother to her grave. She, in her simple way, was able to fathom the hypocrisy and the deceit that these people practiced upon the youth of America. She warned me repeatedly but she gave in to my youthful idealisms, a false idealism that the Communist taught me to rebel, which made me rebel against the concepts of my family, my church. In this sense it is a very delicate point and I believe the folks here will bear with me in this memory.

### Persecution of Wright, Herndon and Hewitt

MR. HOUSTON: During the period of the time you were a member of the Communist Party, did you know a man by the name of Richard Wright?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Who was Richard Wright?

MR. HEWITT: Richard Wright was a member of the Communist Party, an excellent writer. He wrote "Native Son," he wrote the "Black Worker."

He was criticized for writing "Native Son." Why? Because it disclosed the party and the International Labor Defense in its true light.. He exposed the immorality that went on within party ranks.

I sat in at a meeting with a high official in which we castigated Richard Wright. I personally didn't like the book from the point of view that it tended to take one segment of the Negro and hand to the white populace. I felt—I told Wright this personally.

But I didn't oppose him in the manner that the leaders did. They almost crucified him. Dick came out with a statement published, I think, in the "Century Magazine" following my statements in the "World Telegram" in which for the first time he disclosed how he was beaten in Chicago, physically, when he happened to be walking the streets; and how they went around slandering him, pointing to his family, telling all sorts of things.

The same thing went on with Angelo Herndon. Angelo was, as you know, released from the dungeons of Georgia. He was placed in jail for an unemployed demonstration. Benjamin Davis, the now member of the Executive Committee of the party in this country, became Angelo's lawyer and, as a result of the case, became very famous.

The Youth Allies, the exploits of Anglo, and—had quite a demonstration. I have it here in my—pictures of it when he came into the Penn station on his release from Georgia. At that time they had decided that Angelo was too intelligent. He wasn't the type that they could mold. They then set about informing Benjamin Davis that he should do everything in his power to break Angelo. Benjamin Davis proceeded in this manner and attempted to frame Angelo up on all sorts of charges. The infamous Gilbert Green, former member of the Young Communist League, was one of the greatest participants. He is now a member of the National Committee.

Angelo used to come to my office repeatedly. I was on the fifth floor and the National Committee was on the ninth. Angelo was a member of the Young Y. C. L. National Committee and he—he would tell me how they were given the silent treatment. He would come into my office every day. Nobody speaks to him. He didn't know what he did to the people, he said possibly ten—it's because I—I overheard an Anna Damon of the International Labor Defense state in the car when I arrived at the station that they're sorry his skin isn't blacker. I said: "Well, you know what that means. It means that to the Communist leaders a white-skinned Negro couldn't represent the persecuted Negroes. They wanted for martyrdom a dark Negro of the peasant type who would fit right into the picture of American exploitation of the Negro people.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, since you have left the Communist Party, have they persecuted you?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. They have done some "cute" things.

Of course not able to prove that I was an immoral character with about a thousand women they proceeded then to—to discourage my wife and children. When my last baby was born they used a time when my wife would nurse the little child and pull out the fuse. Every night about 8:30 o'clock feeding, my wife's fuse was pulled out. They ripped my baby carriage. They attempted to tell people in the neighborhood not to play handball with me. It resulted in a physical combat in which the entire neighborhood came to my side and people who formerly were afraid to speak out, spoke out, and I lived right among them and as long as I am an American and as long as I have the protection of the American government, as long as I believe in the ideals

of this American government, which will be forever, I will combat every Communist and expose every one.

MR. HOUSTON: And you didn't—you have not changed your residence or moved since you left the Communist Party, have you?

MR. HEWITT: No, sir. No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Right now, in the same place, in the Bronx in New York.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: They persecuted you in employment, is that correct?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, they went to my employees and told them that I was a drunkard, and I never drank in my life. The Russians tried to get me to taste that vile thing called Vodka but I saw what it did to Nazula\*, the South African Secretary, who drank a little bit of it. They picked him up in the snow dead the following morning. I kept away from the "firewater."

Uh—uh—they stated—never drank, I attempted to adhere strictly to the principles of Christian and American ethics and I will continue to do so, thanks to men like you, Mr. Houston, and members of this Committee, who have revived my confidence in American institutions.

MR. HOUSTON: Is it not a common practice among the Communist Party to file all kinds of harassing lawsuits, perjury charges, and things against witnesses that testify against them?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Even though these things can be proven, this is just a publicity stunt?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. To give the underworld, the gangster underworld, the go-ahead signal.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words this is a pattern that has been adhered to in the past on their part.

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir. The Peters' Manual, the decisions of Peters' Manual.

MR. HOUSTON: —tell them to do that?

MR. HEWITT: Tell them to do this.

MR. HOUSTON: If it runs true to pattern, before this hearing's over we'll have that kind of stuff here, will we?

MR. HEWITT: They will attempt—yes, without a question of doubt—

MR. HOUSTON: And that definitely is Communist Party line.

MR. HEWITT: It is.

#### Identification of Louis Sass of Seattle

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Louis Sass?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir, very definitely. Mr. Sass was an organizer at Harlem. He worked after he returned from Seattle with Marcantonio.

**The reason he came to Seattle was one of the big secrets of the Communist Party.** His wife was one of the clerks in the Food Worker's Union under Abraham Kleinberg, a member of the National Committee. This was about the time when I had a terrific struggle with them on why they didn't want Manning Johnson to go into the American Federation of Labor along with all of the others. I succeeded in this struggle in getting Manning Johnson to go with them. However, while they were there, this wife of Sass who was known as a Mary Sass, stole more than \$35,000 from the pay—or from

\* Phonetic spelling.

the dues collection of the workers of the Food Worker's Union. The thing was called into high party circles and we were in a dilemma how to hush this up. Th—we came to the conclusion, get Sass out of town quick. Hush it up as much as possible. Don't talk about it.

I understand Sass came to Seattle for a period of time operating here as an organizer because if he remained in New York and the workers got word of it there would be no Sass, nor any wife, and would have meant pretty bad for the Communist Party there.

However, Mrs. Sass, I understood, opened a business, quite a little business somewhere in California, near Los Angeles on the money of these poor workers who followed this left-wing hpyocrisy.

MR. HOUSTON: Is that in the conference where this was disclosed?

MR. HEWITT: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: In the Communist Party headquarters, in—in—

MR. HEWITT: 35 East 12th Street.

MR. HOUSTON: 35 East 12th Street.

MR. HOUSTON: I think we've reached breaking-off point and we can recess for lunch, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

(Noon Recess)

## TESTIMONY OF MR. LANE SUMMERS Attorney at Law

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you stand and be sworn, please?

LANE SUMMERS, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Summers, I will ask you as you testify that you answer audibly and that you spell the names of the people the first time so that it may be recorded correctly.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MR. SUMMERS: Lane Summers.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Summers?

MR. SUMMERS: Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MR. SUMMERS: Since 1910.

MR. HOUSTON: 1910.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation?

MR. SUMMERS: Attorney-at-Law.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Summers, I will ask you if you ever had a child go to the University of Washington?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the name of this child?

MR. SUMMERS: You refer to my son?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. SUMMERS: Thane Summers. Thane.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you remember about what years he went to the University?

MR. SUMMERS: 1933 to May 1936.

MR. HOUSTON: Three years he went to the University?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during this period of time, did he live at your home?

MR. SUMMERS: A part of that time. He lived at my home until May, 1936.

MR. HOUSTON: Until May, 1936.

MR. SUMMERS: Or thereabout. The spring of 1936.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you talk with your son from time to time? How he was getting along in the University? How things were going?

MR. SUMMERS: Naturally.

MR. HOUSTON: And did your son seem interested in his university work?

MR. SUMMERS: Very much so and the—particularly in the latter part of it.

MR. HOUSTON: The latter part of it.

MR. HOUSTON: In all respects he was raised as a normal boy, was he not?

MR. SUMMERS: I would say so, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: You—you describe yourself as a middle-class American family, were you not?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I'd rather others would describe me but certainly I was loyal to our American institutions.

## Son Taught Communism While at University

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did anything occur toward the last year of your boy's attendance at the University that was disquieting to you?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I would say it was earlier than that, uh—that something occurred which was disquieting to me when I first discovered it and was continuously so thereafter.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please relate that for us, Judge?

MR. SUMMERS: I would not remember the exact date but after he had been attending the University for some time on one occasion at home he made some comment as a result of a book that he was reading during the course of the evening and I was a little surprised and asked him to read it again, and I said:

"Well, where did you get that?"

Well, that was one of the books he was asked to read by one of his professors.

I said: "Well, that's virtually Communism," and he said, "Yes, I know that."

Well, I said, "You certainly don't believe that?"

He said, "Yes, I do."

That being the first conversation and first occasion during which I learned that he was interested in Communism.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he mention to you what class that book was being used in?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, he did. As of the present date I'm a little uncertain whether it was psychology or philosophy.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he say anything about it not being required reading but that credits would be given him if he studied it?

MR. SUMMERS: There was quite a little discussion during the evening during the course of which he indicated to me that the material that we were discussing was not given to him in his text books but was given to him in so-called "extra" reading. He gave me at that time a list of some, as I recall, twenty books which he said he had been requested by his instructor to read, and had been advised that if he did read all these books he would be given extra credit for the course.

At the time, he was in the process of reading them.

MR. HOUSTON: Were the—did you observe any of these books?

MR. SUMMERS: I was very much interested and made a memorandum of the books. I made, more or less superficial examination of all of them, at a later date.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you come to any conclusion as to the type or kind of books they were?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, I did. I, in my own thinking, would classify most of them definitely as very radical in their essence and influence. All of them, I think, but one. One of them, as I recall, I felt was a more of a factual book and conservative in its tone.

## Son Names Professors Who Taught Him Communism

MR. HOUSTON: Now did your son admit to you that he had embraced the tenets of Communism?

MR. SUMMERS: Not at that time, but later; he didn't only admit it, he asserted it. He was very definitely aggressive in his Communistic attitude before he was finished with his attendance at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he tell you what professors were encouraging him in this stand, if any were?

MR. SUMMERS: Not only did he tell me who they were, but he quoted them many times to me. From the date which you have called to my attention, until he finally left my home, he and I had a great many discussions and arguments about the teaching that he was receiving and about the indoctrination that he had been subjected to, and about the fallacies of it and the right and wrong of it. In other words, when he was not studying, and when he was at home, for many months there was more or less a continuous discussion of the problem between himself and me.

In those discussions, he mentioned several of his professors or instructors, as being the men from whom he was acquiring the indoctrination that I have described.

MR. HOUSTON: Who were these—

MR. SUMMERS: **One of them was Ralph Gundlach.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Ralph Gundlach.**

MR. SUMMERS: **One was Hugh DeLacy.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Hugh DeLacy.**

MR. SUMMERS: **Another was Mr. Rader.** I am not sure that I remember his first name. **Another was Herbert Phillips.** In the same classification of our discussions he frequently quoted from Howard Costigan and referred to him, but he was not connected with the University, so far as I now recall.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, as near as possible, these original discussions then, started along in early spring of '35 and they continued over a year. Would that be about right?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I'm—I wouldn't want to fix the date when they first started, but he had been attending the University some time, and they continued throughout his attendance at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: And he started to the University in 1933.

MR. SUMMERS: That is right.

### **Son Leaves Home to Live With Gundlach**

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you explain what occurred in May of 1936?

MR. SUMMERS: Shortly before he was to be graduated, he announced to me, much to my surprise, that he had concluded he was not going to remain at home because he felt it was inconsistent, knowing my conservative ideas, to receive financial support from me when he intended to use his education and his efforts to further Communistic purposes, and he said that he was therefore going to leave home; and he also said at about the same time, that he was—or, perhaps a little later, that he was unwilling to take his examinations for graduation, because he felt that a diploma from the University of Washington might classify him among the intelligentsia and that he didn't want to do anything which would handicap him in his communistic efforts after he left school.

In consequence, he did leave home, he did refuse to take his examinations, and he went to live at the home of Ralph Gundlach, which was at that time somewhere near the Helen Bush School on, I think, Thirty-third North. I delivered him frequently to the house after that, when he would come to my home for a meal or for a visit, and would return; for some time I delivered him to Professor Gundlach's house, where he was then living.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, he moved out of your home because he didn't want to take anything further from a capitalistic system; and moved into the home of Ralph Gundlach.

MR. SUMMERS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, about how long did he stay in the home of Ralph Gundlach?

MR. SUMMERS: I would say some weeks or some months. I cannot fix the time exactly, but it was a period of a number of weeks or a few months. That's my best estimate.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did Professor Gundlach employ him?

MR. SUMMERS: I'm not exactly certain. At one time he told me that he was receiving five dollars a week. I'm not certain whether that five dollars a week was from Professor Gundlach or whether it was from the Communists; but I do know that he was living quite meagerly. I think he was employed by Doctor—Professor Gundlach on the basis of washing dishes, because Mr. Gundlach had lost his wife, and taking care of Mr. Gundlach's child, I think a daughter, when he was away.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during this period of time that he was at Professor Gundlach's, he would come back to your home for dinner every once in a while, or to see the family, would he not?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he at any of these visits, tell you that Professor Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party, that he was living with him by—for that reason?

MR. SUMMERS: I don't think that he ever assigned that as the reason. He definitely indicated to me that he was a member of the Party, but I don't think he ever said that that was the reason he was living there.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he definitely indicate to you that Gundlach was a member of the Party?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, and all the others that I have mentioned.

MR. HOUSTON: The others you have mentioned. Now did he subsequently leave Professor Gundlach's?

MR. SUMMERS: He did.

### **Son Lives With Professor Phillips**

MR. HOUSTON: And where did he go then?

MR. SUMMERS: To the home of Mr. Phillips, out in the University District. I think 9th or 10th, and Brooklyn Avenue. I've forgotten the exact location, but I drove him there on a number of occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: Was that Professor Herbert Phillips?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he tell you why he left Gundlach's?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, not in any detail, but he indicated that he was a little weary of washing dishes.

MR. HOUSTON: In other words, Gundlach worked him too hard, then.

MR. SUMMERS: Well, at least at that sort of thing.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what next happened to your son?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I don't recall exactly how long he stayed at Professor Phillips' home. I would say perhaps about as long, although I am not sure; but ultimately he moved from his home to some location, I think

about 8th and Marion Street, an old shack there, where—and at another time he lived in an apartment house with some other young man, a little bit off Madison Street near a white cottage, that was a restaurant. It was known as The Cottage. It's about 16th and Madison, I would say.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did he evidence any interest in the Spanish War about that time?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I wouldn't say that it was quite that early. I would say that about that time he was more interested in the national campaign. That was in 1936, and he indicated to me that he was either a member of, which is my best recollection, or working for the Communist Party's campaign committee for King County; and during the fall—late summer and early fall of 1936, he was very vigorously engaged in Communistic activities for the national campaign.

MR. HOUSTON: Of the Communist Party.

MR. SUMMERS: And of Franklin Roosevelt.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did he subsequent to that evidence an interest in the Spanish War?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, in discussions and conversation he indicated a definite interest in it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now this would be in the spring of '37 now, wouldn't it? Wouldn't that be about the time?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, if you are taking me that far, I would say by the winter of '37 he had many times indicated interest in the Spanish War.

MR. HOUSTON: Now do you know whether or not Ralph Gundlach was active in that Abraham Lincoln Brigade or any other Spanish front organization?

MR. SUMMERS: I couldn't say as to him. As to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, I would say that I think Thane referred more frequently to Hugh DeLacy and to Howard Costigan, and to an activity that he was interested in in connection with the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, he was active in all these things that the Communist Party was interested in, then.

MR. SUMMERS: He was interested in the Communist Party itself and its campaign committee. He was interested in the Washington Commonwealth Federation. He was interested in a lot of Communistic activities in connection with the relief program. He was so much interested that he was arrested with one other young man for putting up placards on light poles and telephone poles, during the campaign, in violation of the city ordinance. He was also interested in fomenting strikes. He and Hugh DeLacy became employed, as I recall, by the King County Road Department, shortly after which a strike developed.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did he discuss with you the precepts of Communism? Did he—

MR. SUMMERS: Many times.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he believe in the theory that the end justifies the means?

MR. SUMMERS: Ultimately he became very vigorous in preaching that. Many of the things that he talked to me about doing, or talked to me about the Party doing, he justified on that basis.

### Son Enlists in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did he subsequently become active in this Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

MR. SUMMERS: He did.

MR. HOUSTON: Here in the City of Seattle?

MR. SUMMERS: He enlisted here.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he say who handled his enlistment? Do you recall that?

MR. SUMMERS: Not specifically, as I now recall. If the—the influence so far—I don't recall his ever mentioning others than those I have mentioned. He may have mentioned others, but I don't recall it now, but he probably did; but insofar as I would be able to name names, I have given you all the names that I have a definite recollection of.

He enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, but I am rather of the impression that I didn't ever know that he had anything to do with it until after he had left Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, even after he left Gundlach's home, he still moved in that circle where Gundlach moved?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, he—he with DeLacy and some others, were among the pickets who picketed the "P.I." I don't remember what year that was, but I am inclined to think that was a little earlier; but he was referring to people that I have mentioned, on many discussions that we had.

### Son Is Killed Fighting for Communist Cause

MR. HOUSTON: And did he subsequently, as a result of enlisting in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, go to New York and eventually to Spain?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes, that was in the spring of 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he lose his life in Spain?

MR. SUMMERS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Fighting in the Loyalist cause.

MR. SUMMERS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you notified of this?

MR. SUMMERS: I was notified of it through the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

MR. HOUSTON: Who notified you of that?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, I gave to you a photostatic copy of the letter. I think I was notified of it first on the telephone; but I was also notified other than a semi-official fashion, by a letter that I received, from the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you for appearing, Mr. Summers—

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Summers, you may be excused.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —you may be excused from the subpoena.

(Witness Excused)

### TESTIMONY OF TED ASTLEY Veterans Counselor, University of Washington

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Astley take the stand? Ted Astley.  
Mr. Chairman, will you call for the witness, Ted Astley?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Ted Astley.

MR. ASTLEY: Mr. Houston, I want it understood that I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Take the stand and be sworn.

TED ASTLEY, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Astley, have you heard the instructions to the witnesses to talk directly into the microphone?

MR. ASTLEY: I have heard all of the instructions.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. ASTLEY: My name is Theodore Raymond Astley, and I am also known as Ted Astley because that is a rather long name. Most people call me Ted.

MR. HOUSTON: I will be very pleased to oblige you.

MR. ASTLEY: My friends call me Ted.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Astley?

MR. ASTLEY: I live at 4401 Union Bay Place, which is in the Veterans' Housing Project at the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of the State of Washington?

MR. ASTLEY: I assume so. I vote here.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mr. Astley?

MR. ASTLEY: I am a vocational counselor at the University of Washington Veterans' Guidance Center.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is your employer?

MR. ASTLEY: My employer is the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Astley?

MR. ASTLEY: I was born in Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. HOUSTON: When were you born?

MR. ASTLEY: I was born in 1920.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Astley, I will ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ASTLEY: **Mr. Houston, I will answer your question in my own manner. This is a question which cannot be asked of any citizen of the United States without a violation of the Constitution of the United States. The—**  
(starts shouting)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be quiet.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would just like to report, for the record's sake, that the answer was totally unexpected and unresponsive to the question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do I understand correctly, that he is employed by the State of Washington?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

(Witness Excused)

### TESTIMONY OF MRS. MAUD BEAL Assistant Professor of English, University of Washington

MRS. MAUD BEAL, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Beal, have you heard the instructions given to the previous witnesses about speaking?

Would you please state your name?

MRS. BEAL: Mrs. Maud Beal.

MR. HOUSTON: And how do you spell it?

MRS. BEAL: Beal.

MR. HOUSTON: There is no "s" on it?

MRS. BEAL: No, sir. I'm singular.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a resident of this city, Mrs. Beal?

MRS. BEAL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MRS. BEAL: Since 1925. Oh, pardon me, I am not a resident. I am a resident of north King County.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation, Mrs. Beal?

MRS. BEAL: I teach at the University.

MR. HOUSTON: What do you teach?

MRS. BEAL: I teach people to write on paper what they know so that the college professors won't misunderstand them, if possible. Composition and English.

MR. HOUSTON: Composition and English. How long have you taught at the University?

MRS. BEAL: Twenty-two years.

#### Admits Communist Party Membership

MR. HOUSTON: Twenty-two years. Mrs. Beal, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. BEAL: I was a member of the Communist Party from about 1935, I think, to—I'm not sure when—my leaving the Party was gradual, and I think it was ten years ago, approximately.

MR. HOUSTON: 1938.

MRS. BEAL: It might have been '38 or '39.

MR. HOUSTON: '38 or '39.

MRS. BEAL: Yes. It was before the war, I know.

MR. HOUSTON: But you're positive it was—

MRS. BEAL: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you associate any particular thing with your leaving the Party?

MRS. BEAL: Yes, sir. I was—my work was very—at the time, was rather heavy at the University and I had difficulty keeping up with anything else. Then there was—of course the other was a matter of sort of inability to adjust myself, of searching my conscience, I suppose.

MR. HOUSTON: Now during this period of three or four years that you were a member of the Communist Party, did you attend meetings from time to time?



MRS. BEAL: Rather infrequently because of my work and my health. I did attend meetings, three kinds.

MR. HOUSTON: Is it your testimony that you only attended three meetings in that—

MRS. BEAL: No, I said three different types.

MR. HOUSTON: Oh, three different types.

MRS. BEAL: Study groups, social gatherings, and Party meetings. Communist Party meetings.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall what group you attended Communist Party meetings with? The name of the unit?

MRS. BEAL: There was no name. As far as I know, I was in a group of professional people.

MR. HOUSTON: In a group with the professional people.

Did you hold any positions in the Communist Party?

MRS. BEAL: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you perform any assignments for them?

MRS. BEAL: Oh, I think I tried to conduct study groups. I don't remember exactly where or when, but I tried to do something about it.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you happen to join the Communist Party? Counsel states you want to tell us.

MRS. BEAL: I think I was converted by the indignities that I saw people suffering in the depression. I wanted to do something about them; I had to get some sort of action. I was terrified.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you think that the Communist Party was the answer to the problems that had arisen in this country?

MRS. BEAL: No, sir. They may have helped; I don't know.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, did you ever solicit anyone for membership in the Communist Party?

MRS. BEAL: If I did, I couldn't give that as testimony here, because I don't know. I want to be truthful.

MR. HOUSTON: Who solicited you in the Communist Party?

MRS. BEAL: Well, I read some books, and got disturbed. I suppose my Irish ancestry got to—got rather vocal, and a young man came out to my apartment and I think I talked him into it.

MR. HOUSTON: You talked him into it?

MRS. BEAL: Well, I was perfectly willing to do something.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you talk him into—

MRS. BEAL: I didn't know. I—

MR. HOUSTON: You talked him into signing you up for the Communist Party?

MRS. BEAL: Well, I was trying to be funny, but that isn't true, of course. I—we talked things over and—I mean he had no trouble at all.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall this man's name?

MRS. BEAL: I couldn't until I heard it mentioned in this room.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know now, who he was?

MRS. BEAL: Yes, I think it was a man by the name of Roberts.

MR. HOUSTON: Roberts.

MRS. BEAL: To the best of my memory.

MR. HOUSTON: Was that Bob Roberts?

MRS. BEAL: I think so.

MR. HOUSTON: Mrs. Beal, did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting with Ralph Gundlach?

MRS. BEAL: Mr. Houston, I—that's been from ten to thirteen years ago. I honestly want my testimony to stand up. If I were in a meeting and tried to recall any of these individuals—it might have been a study group, I don't know. People were in and out of meetings in those days and—I saw them socially, I couldn't say. I actually couldn't.

MR. HOUSTON: Could you have sat in Communist Party meetings with Ralph Gundlach?

MRS. BEAL: I don't know why I couldn't have, if he—I mean I—I had no way of knowing.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know Mr. Gundlach?

MRS. BEAL: At the University? Yes, I know him.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know him at this time?

MRS. BEAL: I couldn't say because I don't remember when I first knew Mr. Gundlach as a person. Mr. Gundlach is in a different department and for years I was a Teaching Fellow and I knew only the people in my department.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever sit in any Communist Party meetings with Sophus Keith Winther?

MRS. BEAL: I may have, but I didn't know him. I couldn't—I mean—I couldn't take an oath that he was a member of the Party during then. I mean my memory simply doesn't place him as that. I know he admitted on this stand that he was, but I wouldn't have gone on the stand and identified him as one.

MR. HOUSTON: You're not identifying anybody as one, are you?

MRS. BEAL: No, sir, because I don't want to go on record as doing any guesswork, whatever. I didn't see any Party cards and I didn't collect any dues.

MR. HOUSTON: How did you happen to attend the first Communist Party meeting after this young man recruited you in the Party?

I mean just what I asked. She says she joined the Communist Party; she says she attended meetings; she doesn't remember anybody. How did she happen to go to the meeting, then?

### Refuses to Name Other Party Members

MRS. BEAL: Mr. Houston, I couldn't tell you about these meetings because—I couldn't swear to a meeting that I attended ten years ago.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall where any of these meetings were held?

MRS. BEAL: Around various homes in the University district.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall whose homes they were held in?

MRS. BEAL: Mr. Houston, I can't identify people with a definition—I release my attorney from any responsibility to my answer—I can't identify people with the definition of Communist that has been developed in this room. They were all my friends. I was in their homes. I can't violate their

hospitality. They were decent to me and I hope to God they'd turn me down if I didn't behave decently to them.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting with Ralph H. Gundlach?

MRS. BEAL: Same answer.

MR. HOUSTON: You refuse to answer?

MRS. BEAL: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, Mrs. Beal, we—I think you understand the position you are placing us in, and yourself, and I'm going to ask you to step aside.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. JUDITH FLETCHER

JUDITH FLETCHER, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. WHIPPLE: Mrs. Fletcher, in addressing your answers to questions asked we'd appreciate you to speak in the microphone and spell out any names. Will you state your name, please?

MRS. FLETCHER: Judith Fletcher.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where do you live, Mrs. Fletcher?

MRS. FLETCHER: Just out of Monroe.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that in the State of Washington?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes, it is.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long have you been a resident of the State of Washington?

MRS. FLETCHER: About thirty years or thirty-two years.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mrs. Fletcher, what relation, if any, are you to Jess Fletcher?

MRS. FLETCHER: I am his wife.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mrs. Fletcher, I'll ask you to state whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes, I was.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mrs. Fletcher, approximately when did you become a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. FLETCHER: Well, I believe around 1937, or '38.

MR. WHIPPLE: Do you remember at this time, Mrs. Fletcher, who recruited you into the Communist Party?

MRS. FLETCHER: No, I don't.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party, Mrs. Fletcher?

MRS. FLETCHER: Well, it's rather indefinite—I think sometime in 1944.

MR. WHIPPLE: You were a member of the Communist Party from about 1927 until—

MRS. FLETCHER: No, '38.

MR. WHIPPLE: About nineteen thirty—

MRS. FLETCHER: '37 or '38.

MR. WHIPPLE: —'37 or '38 to 1944. Something like a six or seven year period—in through there.

Now, do you know a person by the name of Harold Eby?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes, I do.

### Identifies Professor Eby and Wife as Communists

MR. WHIPPLE: How long have you known him?

MRS. FLETCHER: Well, I met him, I believe in 1938 or thereabouts.

MR. WHIPPLE: At that time what if any business or occupation did he have?

MRS. FLETCHER: I understood he was teaching at the University.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that the same Harold Eby who's an Instructor at the University at the present time, or has been?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes, I believe it is.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, I will ask you to state whether or not, during the period of time that you as a member of the Communist Party, if you ever had occasion to see Mr. Eby?

MRS. FLETCHER: Oh, yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings that Mr. Harold Eby attended?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Were those closed meetings in the Communist Party?

MRS. FLETCHER: That's what I understood.

MR. WHIPPLE: Meetings at which none other than Communists would be present?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes, sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you know his wife, Lenna Eby?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: During the period of time you were a member of the Communist Party did you ever have occasion to sit in any Communist Party meetings with her?

MRS. FLETCHER: No, not that I'm sure of. No.

MR. WHIPPLE: During the time that you were a member of the Communist Party, did—were any meetings ever held in your home?

MRS. FLETCHER: Oh, yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Were any meetings ever held in the Eby home?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did Mr. Harold Eby ever attend any meeting of the Communist Party held at your home?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever attend any meetings of the Communist Party held at Professor Eby's home?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Approximately how many meetings—closed meetings in the Communist Party, would you say that you have attended at which Professor Harold Eby was present.

MRS. FLETCHER: Oh, at least a half-a-dozen.

MR. WHIPPLE: At least half-a-dozen.

During the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party did you pay any dues into the Party?

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: To whom did you pay those dues?

MRS. FLETCHER: To Lenna Eby.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that the same Lenna Eby that you say has—was a member of the Communist Party.

MRS. FLETCHER: She was Harold Eby's wife.

MR. WHIPPLE: Harold Eby's wife. Now, where did you go to pay those dues to her?

MRS. FLETCHER: Oh, at her home or she came to mine.

MR. WHIPPLE: In other words, you paid dues both—to Lenna Eby, both at her home and at your home.

MRS. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: I think that's all. Thank you, Mrs. Fletcher.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused, I believe. Are you through with this witness?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused.

## TESTIMONY OF MR. JESS FLETCHER Labor Leader

JESS FLETCHER, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state your name, please.

MR. FLETCHER: Jess Fletcher.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where do you live, Mr. Fletcher?

MR. FLETCHER: I now live at Monroe—just out of Monroe. My home's at 8731 Phinney Avenue, Seattle, King County.

MR. WHIPPLE: You have for many years, until recently, been a resident of the City of Seattle, have you not?

MR. FLETCHER: That's right, thirty years, I believe.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thirty years.

Now, I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher if you have not been prominently identified for many years at Local 6 of the Local Building Service Union?

MR. FLETCHER: That's right. I organized it.

MR. WHIPPLE: And was its president for many years?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Fletcher, I will ask you if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: I have.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state, please, to the Committee, when you first became a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: Sometime in '37.

MR. WHIPPLE: And when, if you remember, did you get out of the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: Around '44, they quit inviting me to their doings. I—the Party said then they expelled me later on.

MR. WHIPPLE: They expelled you later on?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, Mr. Fletcher do you remember who recruited you in the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: No, I—they—I wasn't recruited. They just took my money and said I was a Communist. They didn't give me nothing to show for it, but they said I was a Communist.

MR. WHIPPLE: Said you were a Communist?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes, a good one.

MR. WHIPPLE: And they also publicly expelled you at a later date.

MR. FLETCHER: Oh yes, they pu—they give it to the press that they expelled me, but they didn't tell me the date that they did it.

### Paid Dues to Professor's Wife

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, during these years that you claim that you were a member of the Communist Party, did you pay any dues into the Party?

MR. FLETCHER: And how!

MR. WHIPPLE: To whom did you pay those dues, Mr. Fletcher?

MR. FLETCHER: To Professor Eby's wife, or my wife paid it to her.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that the Lenna Eby whose name was referred to by your wife a few minutes ago?

MR. FLETCHER: That's right.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, did you know Professor Harold Eby?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes, very, very well.

MR. WHIPPLE: What business or occupation did he have during the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: He's an English professor at the University of Washington.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that the same Professor Eby now that is a professor at the University at this time?

MR. FLETCHER: That's right, —that's right. Quite a decent fellow, too.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now Mr. Fletcher, during this period of time you were in the Communist Party, did you ever have occasion to sit in any closed Communist Party meetings with him?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, yes, lots of them.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever have any closed Communist Party meetings at your home?

MR. FLETCHER: Many of 'em.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever have any closed Communist Party meetings at his home?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did he ever attend any closed Party meetings at your home?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: And you ever attend any closed Communist Party meetings at his home?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: And was he at both places?

MR. FLETCHER: Always.

MR. WHIPPLE: I wish you would state for this record if you can, Mr. Fletcher, some conservative idea of the number of Communist Party meetings you have attended in which Professor Harold Eby has been in attendance?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, anywhere between fifty, or two hundred—I don't know. We were meeting all the time. They "meet" you to death. There was a meeting all the time, pretty near. There was always some serious thing happening in the world someplace, and they are going to have a meeting about it.

### Rappaport Says Mrs. James Was a Good Comrade

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, I wish to direct your attention to the name Florence Bean James, Mr. Fletcher. Do you know who that person is?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, yes, very well.

MR. WHIPPLE: Who is Florence Bean James?

MR. FLETCHER: She's the head of the Repertory Playhouse.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, how long have you known her?

MR. FLETCHER: Ever since I have been in the Communist Party.

MR. WHIPPLE: Did you ever have occasion to have any business with her during the period of time that you were in the Communist Party?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, yes, I—I was head of the Union and—

MR. WHIPPLE: Are you referring now to Local 6 of the Building Service Union?

MR. FLETCHER: That's right, and they usually put on plays out there, and they would come to union leaders and sell nights for a play. The union would buy the house out and fill it with their members.

MR. WHIPPLE: What house do you refer to?

MR. FLETCHER: The Playhouse—or the Playhouse out here—

MR. WHIPPLE: The Repertory Playhouse?

MR. FLETCHER: The Repertory Playhouse, yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: All right. In that connection did you have any unusual experience with Florence Bean James?

MR. FLETCHER: Yes, she came to me to buy the house out, I think some—it was quite a sum of money, I forget the exact amount, and I didn't feel like taking it, and I don't—I told her I wouldn't take it. Later on I was contacted by Morris Rappaport.

MR. WHIPPLE: Who is Morris Rappaport?

MR. FLETCHER: He was then the district organizer of the Communist Party for the Northwest, and Rappaport brought this to my attention and told me that he thought I should buy that night, and Mrs. James was a good comrade and I should support the cause, and I bought it and wrote the check.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now could you tell us approximately when that was, to the best of your recollection?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, it was somewhere around '38 or '39,—somewhere there.

MR. WHIPPLE: I think that is all, Mr. Fletcher, thank you. Thank you, Mr. Fletcher, that's all.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused from attendance.

(Witness Excused)

## TESTIMONY OF ALBERT OTTENHEIMER OF REPERTORY PLAYHOUSE

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Ottenheimer take the stand?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you be sworn?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I'm being sworn under protest, Mr. Canwell.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you be sworn?

ALBERT M. OTTENHEIMER, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I wish to draw your attention, Mr. Canwell, to the absence of my attorney.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You mean by your attorney, Mr. Caughlan?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: No, I mean by "my attorney" Mr. Clifford O'Brien, whom you ejected this morning. However, I'm not complaining of that at the moment, because his presence here would serve no useful purpose except to give the idea of how counsel is really allowed to protect the interest of his clients.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would like to have time for all these speeches, but we haven't.

Now if you will proceed with the questioning.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you heard the previous instructions as to speaking into the microphone and not nodding, but answering audibly, Mr. Ottenheimer?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: Ad nauseam; Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: Well I'm the Albert Ottenheimer who sat here four days hearing himself and his associates villified by the greatest collection of liars and perjurers I ever heard.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Knowing Mr. Ottenheimer's profession, I don't want to deprive him of every opportunity to put on—well, I don't want to deprive him of every opportunity of answering here and I just wish to instruct him to make his answers responsive, or we will have to consider that he is refusing to testify, and he will be removed.

Now, if you will go on with your questioning.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you a citizen of the City of Seattle, Mr. Ottenheimer?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I am, Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I was born in the City of Tacoma.

MR. HOUSTON: How long—

MR. OTTENHEIMER: September 6, 1904.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: 25 years.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I am an actor, and an artist.

**Refuses to Answer**

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Ottenheimer, if you are or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: And I will say to you, Mr. Houston, that I consider that an attempted censorship of the arts, and I can't answer that kind of question under the circumstances which are permitted here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you ask the question again, and I wish to instruct the witness that that is a question that might easily be answered by "yes" or "no."

MR. HOUSTON: Are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: Mr. Houston, I object to answering that question on the basis I have stated, plus moral grounds, professional ethics, and illegal grounds.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do I understand that you refuse to answer the question directly?

MR. OTTENHEIMER: I am—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I want a "yes" or "no" answer to that. Do you or do you not wish to be responsive to the questions? Now you must answer these questions or we will have to ask you to step aside. We are trying to be reasonable here. We would like to have you tell your story, but if you insist on not answering the questions of the Committee we will have to follow the usual procedure and ask you to step aside.

MR. OTTENHEIMER: Well Mr. Canwell, I've formed my own opinion, listening here, to the reasonableness of this Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, we will take it for granted that you do not intend to answer the questions of the Committee. You may step aside.

MR. OTTENHEIMER: Thank you, sir.

(Witness Excused)

**TESTIMONY OF MELVIN MILLER RADER**  
**Associate Professor of Philosophy,**  
**University of Washington**

MR. HOUSTON: Melvin Rader?

MELVIN MILLER RADER, after being first duly sworn was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Rader, you have heard the instructions to the witnesses on the stand, have you not?

MR. RADER: I have, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your name?

MR. RADER: Melvin Miller Rader.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Rader?

MR. RADER: I live in the City of Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: And how long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MR. RADER: I have been here since 1921. I came here as a student the first time, at the University of Washington, in 1921. My regular appointment at the University, however, was not made until the fall of 1930. I have been employed since that time by the University of Washington, except for a leave of absence during 1944 and 1945 when I was in Chicago.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Rader, I will ask you; are you are have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: I want to answer that question very fully and explicitly and to the point. I think I can answer the question best if I can read a statement. I will answer the question "no," I have never been a member of the Communist Party, and I am not now a member of the Communist Party, and I shall be very glad to elaborate that answer any time.

**Admits Front Organization Affiliation**

MR. HOUSTON: Now I will ask you, Professor, if you were ever a member of an organization known as the League Against War and Fascism, which has been declared a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States of America?

MR. RADER: I have been a member of the American League Against War and Fascism.

MR. HOUSTON: On Sunday, evening, April 7, 1935, in the Labor Temple in the City of Seattle, did you speak for an hour and ten minutes on the Soviet Union at a meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism?

MR. RADER: You will please repeat the question, Mr. Houston? I—you are referring to a very specific event. Will you please repeat the question, because I want to tell the exact truth to the best of my ability.

MR. HOUSTON: On Sunday evening, April 7, 1935, in the Labor Temple, in the City of Seattle, did you speak for approximately an hour and ten minutes on the Soviet Union to a meeting of the League Against War and Fascism?

MR. RADER: Well sir, you have stated the question in such very definite and such very precise terms, that I don't see how I could answer that question "yes" or "no" without perjuring myself, because I'm uncertain.

Now, I do have some memory of speaking at the Labor Temple. I don't know under what auspices. I can't remember precisely. That's quite a time

ago, gentlemen. I may well have been under the auspices, it may well have been on that exact date, and it may well have taken that precise length of time.

MR. HOUSTON: Now did you attend a conference of the Northwest Conference Against War and Fascism in the City of Seattle, in the Labor Temple, on the 6th day of April, 1935?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, again you are asking the same type of question. I'm—may I say, Mr. Canwell, that I have already issued to some gentlemen of the press, ah—my,—my attorney advises me that I should do my very best to answer this question to the very best of my ability, and I certainly intend and want to follow the advice of my attorney in this matter, and I want to state the exact and precise truth, to the very best of my ability in respect to every question asked me.

Would you mind repeating the question so I can get clearly in mind the exact terms of this question?

MR. HOUSTON: On April the 6th, 1935, did you attend a conference of the Northwest Conference Against War and Fascism, in the City of Seattle, in the Labor Temple?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I know I have attended conferences, or at least one conference. I imagine more than one, but at least one conference of the American League Against War and Fascism. It may very well be that I attended this meeting. I do not intend to perjure myself. I could not absolutely swear that I attended that meeting, at that particular date, and I therefore will not say that I attended that meeting at that particular date.

MR. HOUSTON: Now I'll ask you if you spoke to a political rally of the Communist Party under the auspices of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, in a fraction meeting in the Senator Auditorium, September the 18th, 1939?

MR. RADER: I'm very certain I did not do that, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You did not?

MR. RADER: I did not do that, sir, unless the meeting were so completely and utterly disguised that I, as a person whom am not a Communist, and have never been a Communist, was totally unable to recognize the nature of the meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Now I will ask you if on July the 13th, 1939, you did not speak, and were a sponsor of a play at the Repertory Playhouse under a group known as the University Friends of Jim Norie, which was sponsored to raise money for a memorial there?

MR. RADER: You are asking if I spoke at a memorial meeting for Jim Norie?

MR. HOUSTON: That's right.

MR. RADER: James Norie, about—where money was raised?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. RADER: You are asking about a precise date—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. RADER: Well again, sir, I can't—these things took place a long time ago, and I can't, for the life of me, with the most honest effort, answer to the exact date. Now it is true, that I did speak at a memorial meeting for James Norie in the Repertory Playhouse, and it might have been that date.

MR. HOUSTON: Now on February the 9th, 1939, did you sponsor a meeting in the Moore Hotel for the purpose of raising money for the Communist Government of Spain in exile?

MR. RADER: Now, may I say, Mr. Houston, that I never interpreted any statement in respect to Spain as—that I have ever made it, in all my life, as a statement in defense of, or advocacy of any Communist government, in Spain or elsewhere.

Now, sir, again you are asking me a question about a particular date. Now these are events that took place many years ago, and I, gentlemen, do not have a perfect memory and I doubt if, indeed, I could act as if I did, without telling untruth here, which I don't intend to do.

Now I will say this; that I have spoken from time to time in favor of Loyalist Spain. I interpreting "Loyalist Spain" as not a Communist government.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you in the year 1945 one of the Seattle sponsors of this Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee, whose national officers were in contempt of Congress, and which organization has been declared subversive by the Attorney General of the United States of America?

MR. RADER: Sir, may I just make one statement, Mr. Canwell, about the Attorney General, and—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I don't think that is pertinent. I don't wish to curtail the witness here—

MR. RADER: Well, I don't want my answer to be misunderstood. I want to be perfectly fair to myself and fair to the truth, and I think I could express myself more accurately and truly if I first explained how I would interpret this question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think the question was a little devious. I had trouble to follow it.

MR. HOUSTON: I will break it up into two or three then.

Were you in 1945 a Seattle sponsor of the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee?

MR. RADER: I believe I was, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you conversant that the Attorney General of the United States has declared this to be a subversive organization?

MR. RADER: Yes, and I would like your permission to make a remark about that.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think it will be permitted at this time.

MR. RADER: I would like to remark that it seems to me, the classification or labeling of organizations as subversive is the proper function of the judicial branch of our government, where in courts of law there are fact-finding and objective techniques and procedures for determining these matters, and I would say that—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I don't think this man should criticize an official function of the Attorney General of the United States, which has been accepted as within his prerogative.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes. I wanted to be reasonable as possible with Mr. Rader. He seems to be willing to give testimony before this Committee. I don't want to unduly curtail him. I would wish to caution him about extending remarks into the record here that are not—oh, perhaps too perti-

nent, but I think that if he feels that his answer there is sufficient, he has stated his position on that point.

MR. RADER: Very well, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you participated on August the 23rd, 1941, in an Anti-Fascist Mass meeting in the Bothell High School at 8:00 p. m.?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I just can't answer that question. I would like to, sir, but—I mean I can't answer it in the sense that I know that this is or is not the case. I can't remember.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, let's approach it in a different way then.

From 1936, did you believe in the collective security in the grouping of the democracies of the world against the Fascist countries?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, in 1936—you say from 1936?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. RADER: Until—until—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, until we had the switch in the—turn in the railroads. I will be explicit if you want me to, on the date.

MR. RADER: Now wait a minute. I'm not limiting this to any period that can be characterized in terms of a switch.

Now in 1936, and continuously I think, right up to the present time, I have believed in the principle of what we have now come to call the United Nations, but was in 1936 called the Principle of Collective Security. That is the principle of international organization for the prevention of war.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you conversant that in 1936 there was a switch in the Communist Party line after the speech by Mr. Dimitrov on the orientation and the starting of the United Front program?

MR. RADER: In 1936. About what—what time in 1936?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think we might dispense with these dialectical discussions, and—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I—the man has no memory, and I am giving him specific dates and places; and if he wants to—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The witness is well within what is reasonable in saying that he cannot remember a specific hour or a date ten years ago. If you want to say about that time, or that sort of thing, I think that we want to remain within the realm of what is reasonable there.

MR. RADER: Thank you, Mr. Canwell.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, have you followed the Communist Party line, Doctor?

MR. RADER: I have never have been and I am not now a follower of the Communist Party line. I have reached all my decisions independently, as an individual, and never at the behest or the instruction, or the dictation, of the Communist Party, or any Communist front organization, or any other party or organization.

MR. HOUSTON: After the Hitler-Stalin Pact in September 1939, did you label the war an imperialistic war?

MR. RADER: Sir, I think you—I may be mistaken there, but I think you have the date of that pact slightly wrong.

MR. HOUSTON: Now your memory is much better there. I was testing you. The pact actually was in August of 1939, wasn't it?

MR. RADER: It was about then.

MR. HOUSTON: I just wanted to test your memory. It isn't so bad on some things, is it, Doctor?

MR. RADER: Yes, but you were referring then to a very, very famous historical event. Almost anybody who has any interest in history would make a real effort to remember, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, can you answer the question?

MR. RADER: All right. I certainly will answer the question. Would you repeat the question, because I want to be sure of the correct term.

MR. HOUSTON: After the Hitler-Stalin Pact, did you label the ensuing war an imperialistic war?

MR. RADER: In—I think it will take two or three sentences to answer that question. May I have those sentences?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think it would be easy to answer whether you did or not, and then I think you may enlarge on that.

MR. RADER: I don't think I ever did in an unqualified way.

MR. HOUSTON: You can enlarge on that if you want to.

MR. RADER: All right, thank you. I want to point out that this was a period in which my book "No Compromise" was before the public. It was published in New York in, oh, around about the end of June or the beginning of August of 1939.

Now, I wrote in September 1935, a preface for British readers to that book, a preface that never appeared in the American edition. That preface was sent by Trans-Atlantic Air Mail to London, and it appears in the English copy of this book. In that preface, written—I'm not exactly sure of the date, but sometime during September of 1939, I strongly expressed my sympathies, my sympathies, solidarity, and my loyalty, not only to American democracy but to the whole concept of democracy internationally and specifically to France and England.

I don't know whether that answers your—the question, sir. Do you want any more elaboration?

MR. HOUSTON: No, you wanted to elaborate. Now, did you join and were you active in the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy?

MR. RADER: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you observe any Communist domination of that organization?

MR. RADER: —

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer a little louder?

MR. RADER: Oh, excuse me. No, sir. I was not in a position to observe that. If it—and I have no reason to suppose, since I was not in a position to observe it, that it occurred.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you aware that the Attorney-General has also labeled that organization a subversive organization?

MR. RADER: I think so, yes. I read—some time ago I—quite some time ago I read a list of these organizations. As I remember, that name appears in this list.

### Cannot Remember

MR. HOUSTON: Now were you one of the sponsors of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee? Were you on that committee?



MR. RADER: Well, sir, I may be mistaken. I don't remember whether I was on that committee or not. If there is any clear evidence I was that seems convincing to me, I will certainly be glad to say "yes."

MR. HOUSTON: May I refresh your memory. June 30th of 1939 of the "Post-Intelligencer," a Seattle newspaper, under the heading "Bridges Defense Committee Formed": "A Harry Bridges Defense Committee was formed here yesterday for the purpose of attempting to obtain an open hearing by Immigration authorities for the West Coast C.I.O. director. A hearing on the deportation charges against Bridges is set for July 10th on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. Listed as member of the committee are Professors Harold Eby, Garland Ethel," another professor previously unnamed, and if you will permit, I prefer not to name him because his name has not been brought into the record so far, "and Melvin M. Rader."

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I don't regard the "Post-Intelligencer" as always accurate. I am willing to say that there is some presumptive evidence here.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you answer that you did belong to that organization?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I answered that question to the best of my ability. I don't know for certain.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, are you aware that the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, 78th Congress, in Appendix IX, page 592, states: "The Harry Bridges Defense Committee, The Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges, and The Harry Bridges Victory Committee, must be designated as front organizations of the Communist Party, United States of America."

Are you aware of that?

MR. RADER: With the question stated in that form, I can only say "no," because you are referring to a specific case and it's a definite statement.

MR. HOUSTON: You had no knowledge previous to this, that that was labeled by any governmental organization as a subversive organization?

MR. RADER: I think I remember that this was on the list of, oh, I don't know how many. More than ninety, it seems to me, organizations listed by the Attorney-General. I think he had two lists, as a matter of fact. Ninety on one list, and I don't know how many on another list. I think on one of those two lists, this organization was so listed, although I am not certain of that.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, in that his participation, if any, in this committee may have occurred before its designation or may not, we haven't introduced evidence to that effect, I think that his answer is certainly responsive.

MR. HOUSTON: Never occurred before what, Mr. Chairman? I didn't catch that.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before his alleged participation in this Bridges Defense Committee action. I don't know what the dates were, and it hasn't to my—I am not certain that I understand, and I don't know that Mr. Rader does.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, here's a committee that was formed. We've read a public newspaper of its formation. I've read a report of Congress that it is a Communist-dominated organization.

Now, are you absolving him from any responsibility?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, I think that he answered the question properly.

MR. HOUSTON: If there is any doubt about it, the "Post-Intelligencer" under date of August 29, 1939, Appendix IX, page 600 of the reports of the Un-American Committee of the Congress of the United States, it states: Professor Melvin Rader is listed as chairman of the Washington State sponsoring committee of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee.

MR. RADER: Let me again say that I don't think the "Post-Intelligencer" is always accurate. I am not able to affirm or deny that statement that you say appears in the "Post-Intelligencer," as certain fact.

### Has Statement in "Daily Worker"

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if this statement of February 21, 1940 in the "Daily Worker" of the City of New York, is correct, wherein it states: "Professor Melvin Rader was one of the signers of the letter to President Roosevelt and Attorney-General Jackson protesting the attacks upon the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

Is that, or is that not, correct?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I just can't remember signing any such statement.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Rader, during the period of time you have taught at the University of Washington, have you been aware of any Communist activity on the campus?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, my knowledge about activities on the campus is, I think, just what any ordinary faculty person's knowledge is. I could engage in speculation, I've heard rumors, but I—I take it this is a fact-finding committee and you are not interested in my speculations.

MR. HOUSTON: I don't want speculations or rumors. I asked you a question that can be answered "yes" or "no." Would you care to answer it that way?

MR. RADER: You're asking if I know about—

MR. HOUSTON: If you have become aware of any Communist activity.

MR. RADER: I will say that I remember from time to time of hand bills on the campus that had their apparent sponsorship by the Young Communist League or something of that sort. Now I do remember seeing from time to time some literature like that, that has been apparently thrown on the campus or handed perhaps to people as they walked on the campus.

### Denies Hewitt's Testimony

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now, you heard the testimony yesterday afternoon of the witness George Hewitt. I'll ask you, did you ever attend a school at the Beriehl Farm near Kingston, New York?

MR. RADER: Emphatically not, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Other than "not" would you mind using the word "no"?

MR. RADER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You did not?

MR. RADER: I did not.

MR. HOUSTON: I'll ask you if you attended a Communist Party School anywhere in the year 1930—summer of 1938, or the summer of 1939?

MR. RADER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: I'll ask you if you were in the State of New York in the summer of 1938 or the summer of 1939.

MR. RADER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you in the summer of 1938?

MR. RADER: I'll try to answer that as fully as I can.

MR. HOUSTON: What are the notes that you are reading?

MR. RADER: Well now wait a minute.

MR. HOUSTON: I have a right to know what he is reading, you know.

MR. HENRY: All right, show him.

MR. HOUSTON: And when were these notes prepared?

MR. RADER: They were prepared this very day, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: This very day.

MR. RADER: I sat down out there in the—in the—in the hall, sat down on the floor in preparation for this hearing. I thought I'd better try to be accurate about this question so I sat down and I wrote these out. I scribbled them out in a hurry, and I came in this room and I sat over in about the seat I think I was sitting in when you called me to the stand. I don't remember that I changed my seat and I finished writing these notes at that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Why could what you thought of at that time a few hours ago be more accurate than now about events that occurred ten years ago?

MR. RADER: Well, sir, you're asking about a whole summer, I take it, in 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: The whole summer.

MR. RADER: Excuse me, 1938, isn't it? 1938, and about a whole summer in 1939, and you're asking this question about a very serious matter that concerns my reputation and therefore, and—since I'm an honest man and want to answer honestly, I want to be able to tell you the truth and not perjure myself.

MR. HOUSTON: That's why I want you to tell us now and not need a prepared statement before you knew what questions I'd ask. Had you made these notes in—years ago I think they'd be very admissible in evidence, but I certainly don't think notes that were made, not under oath, and only a few hours ago are admissible.

MR. RADER: I'm—I'm swearing to everything I say under oath, and I'm not waiving any immunity. Every statement I'm making is under oath.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I don't think we'll quibble over his notes. We are not going to admit them in evidence. We are not asked to admit them in evidence.

MR. RADER: Incidentally, there are very much fuller notes—very much fuller, that could be supplied.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, will you please answer the question?

MR. RADER: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you in 1937 in the summer?

MR. RADER: I object. In the academic year 1937-1938 I taught at the University of Washington until the termination of the school term, as I remember about the middle of June, 1938. I feel confident, I believe to the best of my knowledge, that I taught in the summer school at the University of Washington in Seattle, until about August 1st. And shortly thereafter, I am sure it was a very short interval, shortly thereafter, I went with my

family to stay at Canyon Creek Lodge for a vacation, for a period of approximately a month and a half.

MR. HOUSTON: Six weeks.

MR. RADER: Approximately a month and a half at Canyon Creek Lodge.

MR. HOUSTON: Where is that? What state? What location?

MR. RADER: It's in the State of Washington near Granite Falls, not very far from here, sir. I think that the woman who was operating the lodge at that time was named Mrs. Mueller, if my memory serves me correctly.

MR. HOUSTON: How do you spell that?

MR. RADER: I think it was Mueller.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall her initials?

MR. RADER: No, I do not.

Well, upon returning to my home in Seattle I—I stayed very close to the radio for some period of time because this was the period of the Munich crisis, a very critical period in world history.

And I remember—

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor, let's get to the point—

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, we're talking about '38 and the Munich period was in '39.

MR. RADER: No, sir. You're mistaken. The war broke out in 1939 but the Munich—

MR. HOUSTON: You wouldn't mean Czechoslovakia—

MR. RADER: But the Munich crisis that I'm talking about where Chamberlain went and made a—a pact with Hitler, I am quite sure, sir, took place in 1938, not in 1939.

Well, sir, I—I—those were stirring events that I remember very well how intently I listened to Mr. Kaltenborn and the other people who were talking about these things. I stayed in Seattle, I listened to these things very closely. If I was out of Seattle during that month I'm very, very sure it was for a very, very short time, indeed. I am absolutely certain it was not in the State of New York, I'm absolutely certain it was not at any great distance from Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: You were just resting that month.

MR. RADER: Well, uh—schools—the regular term of school and I teach at the University so I was—

MR. HOUSTON: Well, when did you start teaching?

MR. RADER: Well, I wa—I was about to answer, sir.

The regular term starts about the first of October ordinarily. Now, I'm sure I started at the regular time, although one's academic duties in a general way are supposed to begin about September the 15th. I think it is the policy of the University, in general, to ask that people stand by during that period and uh—I'm—I'm very serious about my academic duties, I don't shirk them. I—I assume that I must have stood by. I think I was in Seattle in this period and I'm absolutely certain I was not in New York in this period.

MR. HOUSTON: That's thir—

MR. RADER: Of New York State.

MR. HOUSTON: All right. Now what about '39?

MR. RADER: Let me—let me elaborate a little more about September.

Now, I'm not absolutely certain of this but it's a possibility that during—

during September of 1938 I may have been in Vancouver, British Columbia, no, excuse me, Victoria, British Columbia, for a very short time. If so, I went to visit some friends. I'd be glad to tell you their names, Malcolm Forbes and Lenora Forbes, and there was another person by the name of Josephine Goodner. They were renting a cottage, oh, excuse me—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: May I interrupt just a moment. In that you advised us that these notes were prepared less than an hour ago, I wonder if you would not be just as competent to answer those questions without referring to those notes. I think it would be a more acceptable procedure. I am not going to insist on this but it seems reasonable if you were able to prepare these figures out here before you knew what they were that you might be able to reconstruct them now that they are being asked without your notes.

MR. RADER: Well, sir, I could certainly make the attempt. I'm afraid if I did I might not be as accurate and I would like to be accurate—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, be as accurate as you can.

MR. RADER: —particularly when my honor is at stake and particularly when, after all, there—there is a question—a very serious question raised at this hearing about my behaviour, about my reputation.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I'm not going to bind you to that ruling. I just wondered if it couldn't be done that way in that you stated that you had prepared the notes out here in the audience about an hour ago.

MR. RADER: I—I—I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I'll let you—

MR. RADER: I could dispense with notes uh—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I'll let you use your judgment.

MR. RADER: I'll advise with counsel about that, sir. I'll use my notes. May I go on and answer your question sir?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, yes. We're waiting for you.

MR. RADER: You're asking about nin—the summer of 1939, are you not?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, that's what we started out on, I may have been thrown off on one of these curves—

MR. RADER: Well, again I taught in the academic year of 1938-1939 as a regular employee of the University of Washington. Now—again I believe that the reg—the end of the regular school term was about June 15th, 1939. Again I'm quite certain, and I'm sure you can check this by looking at the University records, again I feel quite confident that I taught in summer school. I believe it was in the first session of summer school and not the second session of summer school.

One thing that fixes these things in my memory is that my book, "No Compromise" was published about this time. The official date of publication, which you can check with the MacMillan Company in New York, was June 30th, 1939, but if I remember correctly copies of the book did not reach Seattle until about the first or the second week in August. I remember that because the book was—was timely there was a good deal said about it and I was interviewed by the press and I remember, among other things, just about this time I went down and talked to Mr. Fitchett. What I am trying to establish is that I was in Seattle in that period, sir.

I would like again to confer with my counsel as to whether my answer is proceeding properly and—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Oh, I think that in that there is a question about his presence in another place—has been introduced in this hearing, I think

that he should be permitted to state the reasons for believing that he was not there for we have ways of checking some of this information and will, of course, do so.

MR. RADER: I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: (inaudible.)

MR. RADER: I'll be very glad, sir, if you do check and check very carefully and very accurate sources.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would like to ask you to make it as brief as you can consistently do. We have a good deal of business that is still up here.

MR. RADER: Yes, surely. I will be as brief as I can be and be fair to myself, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

MR. RADER: Well—now, I believe I remained in Seattle or the near vicinity until the outbreak of the war. I am absolutely certain that in this period I was not in New York City or New York State. One thing that again fixes this matter in my mind is the historical event that occurred, the outbreak of the war. For example, I—I remember very well that I had conversations with various people in Seattle about these events; about the growing tension and the outbreak of the war.

MR. HOUSTON: In a way that covers your position very well.

MR. RADER: All right. Another thing I would like to mention, if I might.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I think that you have stated specifically that you were, in your opinion, not in New York during these times and given many of the reasons why you think you were not there and I would like to confine this to a reasonable amount of time. I don't want to have you feel that we're not giving you a fair chance to tell your side of the story, but I think you have stated unequivocally that you were not in New York during those periods of time and have given us somewhat of an outline of what you believe your activities to have been, and I just hope we can cut this off somewhere here without—

MR. HOUSTON: I'm not lengthening it—

MR. RADER: May I ask a question of my counsel?

Sir, Mr. Houston, I would like to state the exact time when I was in New York, the only time I've ever been in New York State. May I state that precisely?

### Says He Visited New York Only in 1945

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, we would be glad to get that.

MR. RADER: All right, sir.

I was in New York State, in New York City, and anywhere in the entire state, in only one period of my life, about a ten day period.

In the summer of 1945, after having just completed an academic year of teaching as a visiting associate professor of philosophy in the college of the University of Chicago, and I went to New York to see my son, Gordon Rader, who was in New York at that time, and also to see New York.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor, according to your testimony there was a six-week period after the first session of summer school in 1938 when you were unemployed and out of the City of Seattle, allegedly being at this Canyon Creek Lodge.

MR. RADER: But not allegedly, sir, I feel quite confident about it.

MR. HOUSTON: No, I said allegedly, I didn't say positively. I hope that I will be able to say positively too.

There was a six-week's gap there, now that you were—during that period of time you could have been in New York, could you not?

MR. RADER: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, if you wanted to go to New York instead of Canyon Creek Lodge you could have been there, couldn't you?

MR. RADER: No sir, I did not want to go to New York, I was not in New York, there are people who know where I was.

MR. HOUSTON: I didn't say, now, that you were in New York but had you wanted to go there were six weeks you could have gone, Doctor.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that is obvious on the face of the thing. I can see that—

MR. HOUSTON: Now, there was also a six-week period in 1939 that you were not teaching, you were just around Seattle, you could have—unemployed then.

MR. RADER: Sir, I—now, now wait a minute. I am very certain that if time is given it will be possible to secure complete evidence that what I have said in all essential details is substantially correct and that I was not in New York or New York State in this period and I can tell you some ways in which I can—

MR. HOUSTON: We—we're going to do that. I'm trying to get some ways now if I can get rid of your speeches and get a little information.

MR. RADER: Well, I'm trying to answer your question.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, during the period, this six-week period, you state you were in Seattle here. You traded then with the same merchants you normally traded with, did you not?

MR. RADER: I imagine. I—

MR. HOUSTON: Then we could be able to establish that you were here then, couldn't we?

MR. RADER: Oh, yes, sir. I am very certain it can be established.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Rader, I just want to repeat the question because it is tremendously serious.

Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party and can you answer it just "yes" or "no" without speeches?

MR. RADER: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you.

### Solicited for Party Membership Twice

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor Rader, have you ever been solicited for membership in the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you been solicited for membership in the Communist Party on the University of Washington Campus?

MR. RADER: I believe not, sir. I can remember nothing of the sort.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you been solicited for membership in the Communist Party by any member of the University of Washington faculty?

MR. RADER: I am not absolutely certain. I thought I had. I still think I was. The reason I hesitate in answering that question is that when I went

to the person that I thought had solicited me, and I asked him if he had solicited me, he said he was confident he had not.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you only solicited to join the Communist Party once?

MR. RADER: No, I was solicited twice.

MR. HOUSTON: Who solicited you then the other time?

MR. RADER: I was solicited by Bob Roberts, a professional—I think a more or less professional organizer for the Communist Party. It was about the University District quite some time back.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, who did you think was soliciting you then the second time? Who was that that you thought was soliciting you?

MR. RADER: May I confer with my counsel again?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, sir.

MR. RADER: Will you—will you repeat the question, sir?

MR. HOUSTON: Who was it, on the n—on the other occasion that had the conversation with you that you thought was a solicitation for membership in the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: I don't think that's an unambiguous question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think, Mr. Houston, if you would ask him if it is any one of the several men by name in whom we are interested I think it would be reasonable to expect him to answer.

MR. HOUSTON: That's not the question, Mr. Chairman.

MR. RADER: May I—

MR. HOUSTON: That question is perfectly clear, he's—

MR. RADER: N—now wait. Mr. Canwell, may I explain just a moment why I hesitate about this.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that's apparent.

MR. RADER: No, I think it's not. I think I can make it a lot clearer.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, will you repeat the question, Mr. Houston, maybe I'm confused.

MR. HOUSTON: Who was this gentleman that you had the conversation with that you thought resulted in a solicitation for your membership in the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: **Well, sir, I hope I can't remember any individual. I don't—just like these other people here I don't like—I don't like a bit to inform upon any—upon any individual,** I don't intend to allow you to cite me for contempt sir. I told the members of the press sometime this morning that I would evade no question, and that I would answer all questions to the very best of my knowledge and ability, and that is the way I am proceeding. Therefore, since you force me, I am going to answer that question to the very best of my knowledge and ability. I thought, sir, until it was denied by the man I am about to name, that is, was, Sophus Keith Winther who approached me and solicited me as a member of the Communist Party, and I can tell you where I approached him and asked him, and you can call him to the stand and ask him if I did not do this.

MR. HOUSTON: Didn't Professor Winther testify the other morning that he had solicited you for membership and you said—"No."

MR. RADER: I don't believe he did testify to that—to exactly that effect if I remember his testimony correctly, and I would like you to refer to the record so we will be accurate about this matter. I think Mr. Winther said

that the—well, I forget the date—certain date he was a member of the Communist Party. During this period, as a member of the Communist Party he heard the statement made in his presence—I believe he meant to say by some person or persons know to him as Communists, and I take it, though I may be wrong about this, that these persons were faculty people. I think he stated, sir, that he knew I had been asked to join the Communist Party, but that I definitely and unequivocally refused to join the Communist Party, and if that is what is in the record, sir, the statement is accurate.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will speak for itself.

MR. HOUSTON: Now it is your sworn testimony today, that only Bob Roberts, and possibly Sophus Keith Winther ever asked you to join the Communist Party? Is that your sworn testimony?

MR. RADER: To the best of my knowledge and belief there was no other explicit, clear request that I could understand as to that effect.

Now there are possible implications that somebody might gather at some time or other, but I never interpreted any implication that I ever heard, from any other person, as an invitation to join the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever have any discussion about joining the Communist Party then, with anyone other than Bob Roberts or Dr. Winther?

MR. RADER: I don't remember that I ever did, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Did anyone ever admit to you on the campus of the University of Washington, that he or she was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you believe in the form of government that exists in the United States of America, Dr. Winther—I mean, Dr. Rader?

MR. RADER: I certainly believe, sir, in the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights and the government setup under that Constitution, as it would be interpreted, for example, by the Supreme Court.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you believe in our system of society, a capitalistic economic system?

MR. RADER: I believe that there ought to be enough improvement in our economic system so that we could avoid very great depressions and a certain amount of unnecessary poverty, and therefore I can't say that I believe in every feature and aspect of our present economic system.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you believe in the capitalist system?

MR. RADER: I think I can best answer that question by saying that my general point of view about these economic matters, corresponds very closely—very closely indeed, to the point of view set forth in the reports and recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board, of which Mr. George Yantis, a former member of this Committee, who died, was a vice-chairman—a national vice-chairman, if I remember accurately.

MR. HOUSTON: I am not asking you what they think, I am asking you what you think, Doctor. We don't have available here today what they think.

MR. RADER: It's a matter of record, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you believe in the capitalist form of government as it exists in the United States of America today?

MR. RADER: Not in every single feature of it, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: What features would you change?

MR. RADER: I would change those features that as I understand, tend to

bring about great economic catastrophes, namely, great depressions; and that in consequence of this, threaten the very structure of our democracy itself.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you abolish capitalism if you had your way?

MR. RADER: I believe, sir, in a mixed type of economic order.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you change our system of society?

MR. RADER: I think anybody, including myself, would like to change our system of society in some respects.

MR. HOUSTON: How would you change the system?

MR. RADER: One thing I would be thoroughly for and anxious to do, and I think it's very very needful, and that is to change our system of society, and particularly in the City of Seattle at the present time, in the direction of a more complete obedience in spirit and letter to the Bill of Rights.

### Has No Objections to Way He Is Being Treated on Witness Stand

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let me say, just ask you a question here. Have you any particular objection to the way you are being treated on the stand here today?

MR. RADER: No, sir. No objections.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, do you refer to the interpretation of the Bill of Rights by the Supreme Court of the United States—

MR. RADER: May I interrupt a second? I would like to qualify that answer, that I just gave you a moment ago, for the sake of accuracy. May I? For that purpose, may I?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We've asked for several of these speeches, so we can't complain.

MR. RADER: Oh, I don't want to make a speech.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If I ask for another one, why—

MR. RADER: It will be very, very brief and to the point.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: All right, let us have it.

MR. RADER: All right. I'm waiving no Constitutional rights here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We didn't presume you were.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you believe in the Bill of Rights, doctor, as interpreted by the Communist Party?

MR. RADER: No, sir.

MR. RADER: By the Supreme Court of the United States?

MR. RADER: No, excuse me. You're linking certain things together.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, or by yourself.

MR. RADER: I believe in the Bill of Rights as interpreted, as I understand, by the interpretation by the United States Supreme Court. I'm no lawyer. I'm not very familiar with the opinions of the United States Supreme Court; but in general, I feel myself in agreement with the interpretation placed on the Bill of Rights by the United States Supreme Court. I'm not referring to any particular interpretation, but the general tradition of interpretation by the United States Supreme Court.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder, Mr. Houston, how long you expect this to go on, or shall we have a recess?

MR. HOUSTON: I'm presently through. I'm very weary—I'll just ask you one thing further. Would you be willing to work with our investigators, Doctor, in definitely and positively ascertaining with evidence, of documentary evidence, where you were in 1938 and '39, which you don't remember.

MR. RADER: Mr. Houston, I would be very glad to work with the Prosecuting Attorney of King County, or any of the deputies, or governmental officials of the State of Washington, that my counsel would approve. I follow the advice of my counsel. I think he will admit that.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, I suggest that you advise with him right now on that last question. I would like to run down every lead, everything that you think is in your defense.

Counsel, can we expect any cooperation out of Dr. Rader?

MR. HENRY: Well, I think he has answered your question already.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What—if I understand Mr. Houston's question, it is precisely the answer to our position at all times. We have at all times attempted to find and obtain all the information available. We have approached every principle in this case, prior to these hearings, stating almost in full what our information was, asking them what their position was, and we still hold that position. If competent information can be supplied this Committee by the principals named here, we certainly want it. We've been trying to compel testimony here to bring out that side of the question; and I am certain that the staff of this Committee will be more than anxious to check any of the information that Mr. Rader wishes to give us. **We do not want an injustice to be done to Mr. Rader, nor do we want it to be done to the University of Washington or the State of Washington; and I feel that the question is entirely proper. We will lend our entire facilities to getting that information, if Mr. Rader will cooperate with us. That is as fair as we can offer.**

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out for the record's sake here that we attempted to cooperate with Mr. Rader during the course of the investigation; he refused. We subpoenaed him to the office; he refused to talk. Yesterday we asked him, prior to the testimony of the witness, to sit down with the witness and confront the witness, the witness talk with him; he refused.

So, I have no other alternative than to put him on the witness stand and ask for what degree of cooperation I could get, and you saw what I got this afternoon.

MR. RADER: May I make a remark here?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think that that—

MR. HOUSTON: I've concluded with the witness. I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Henry, do you think that any additional—

MR. HENRY: I would like to put in the record a statement as a counteraction to that statement.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What part of that—

MR. HOUSTON: I think there has been a lot of speeches and statements.

MR. HENRY: I don't want to be thrown out of here but I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Henry, I—perhaps when I enlarge on this a little, it will not be necessary to carry this further. We are merely stating our position as to further information in this case. We did confer with you yesterday about confronting the witness before he gave his testimony, the testimony that we seem to be concerned about, and we certainly have every wish to carry this thing beyond that, but I don't think we will care to debate it here further. If you wish to cooperate with us, or advise your client to cooperate with us in getting information helpful to his side of the question,

we most certainly will do it; but I don't think we will carry this discussion any further.

MR. HENRY: May I submit a written statement, then, to counteract the statement made by counsel, which is damaging to me and my client?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, I would—we will entertain that statement, and consider it in our Executive hearing.

Now, if you are through with the witness, Mr. Houston, thank you for appearing, Dr. Rader, and you may step aside.

You may be excused, I believe. Do you have any further—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, I mean do you have further need of Dr. Rader's testimony?

MR. HOUSTON: No.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused.

(Witness Excused)

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH COHEN**  
**Associate Professor of Sociology,**  
**University of Washington**

JOSEPH COHEN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name, Mr. Cohen?

MR. COHEN: Joseph Cohen, Cohen.

MR. HOUSTON: Where do you live, Mr. Cohen?

MR. COHEN: 1456 Thirty-eighth Avenue, Seattle.

MR. HOUSTON: How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

MR. COHEN: Since 1909.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your occupation?

MR. COHEN: I am on the staff of the University of Washington, in the Sociology Department.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you married?

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any children?

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir. Three.

MR. HOUSTON: Where were you born, Mr. Cohen?

MR. COHEN: South Bend, Indiana.

MR. HOUSTON: And when were you born?

MR. COHEN: October 1, 1904.

MR. HOUSTON: Where was your wife born?

MR. COHEN: My wife was born in Russia.

MR. HOUSTON: When was she born?

MR. COHEN: I believe it was in 1912, but I'm not sure.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Cohen, I'll ask you if you are, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party.

MR. COHEN: No, sir, I am not now and I never have been a member of the Communist Party.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Political Association?

MR. COHEN: No, sir, I have not been a member of the Communist Political Association.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America?

MR. COHEN: No, sir, I have never been a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

MR. COHEN: No, sir, I have not been a member of the Young Communist League.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been solicited for membership in the Communist Party?

MR. COHEN: I do not recall ever being solicited for membership in the Communist Party, or any of these other organizations you've just mentioned.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever a member of the National Student League?

MR. COHEN: No, sir, I was never a member of the National Student League.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you a signer of a petition to free Earl Browder in 1941?

MR. COHEN: I could not have been a signer of that petition, no, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: It's so stated—

MR. COHEN: To the best of my recollection. I— I would say that I am practically certain that I did not sign any such petition. I might indicate, Mr. Houston, that the word "Joseph Cohen" is a very pop—common name.

That's a popular name, and I don't think it's so popular now in some circles, but the committee has made some errors of that kind before, which I was able to correct before this hearing.

**Denies Dr. Winther's Testimony**

MR. HOUSTON: Did you hear the testimony of Dr. Sophus Keith Winther's here?

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir, I did, and I would like at some time during this testimony to comment on it, at any appropriate time.

MR. HOUSTON: You may do it right now.

MR. COHEN: Well, he made the remark that he assumed that I was a member of the Communist Party in 1935 and '36. I wish to state that he had absolutely no basis for any such assumption. I never attended any meetings of the Communist Party with him or with anyone else. I never paid him any money for that purpose, or any other purpose.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, I just think we ought to keep this record straight. Now, I have before me a transcript of the proceedings of the first day's hearing here, and that was not what Dr. Winther said.

MR. COHEN: I was just going from my memory.

MR. HOUSTON: Yeah.

"Question: **Do you know Professor Joseph Cohen?**

"Answer: **Yes, I do.**

"Question: **Was Professor Cohen a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?**

"Answer: **Yes, he was.**

"Question: I will ask you if you can identify or know this party."

—and he had your picture with him, taken in our office.

"Answer: **Yes, that is Professor Joseph Cohen.**

"Question: **And that is the man that sat in the Communist Party meetings with you?**

"Answer: **Yes, sir.**

"Question: **And he is a teacher at the University of Washington?**

"Answer: **Yes.**"

MR. COHEN: My comment is that Sophus Winther certainly knows me—there could be no question of identification, but he's mistaken in saying that he sat with any meetings of the Communist Party with me.

MR. HOUSTON: Was his wife also mistaken when she testified?

MR. COHEN: Yes, she was. She indicated that she did all the things that he did. I presume that includes saying all the things that he says.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all I have.

MR. COHEN: May I—

MR. HOUSTON: Wait, do you know a man by the name of Nat Honig?

MR. COHEN: That's just the point I wanted to comment on. There—I thought I heard Mr. Whipple reading a deposition state that someone by the name of Nat Honig, whom I do not know, knew of assignments that I had in the Communist Party. That is an absolute and unmitigated falsehood. Neither he nor anyone else could have any such knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been accused of being a Communist before?

MR. COHEN: Have I ever accused of being—

MR. HOUSTON: Have you ever been accused of being a Communist before?

MR. COHEN: Before this hearing? Yes, Mr. Coleman of this Committee accused me of being a Communist and of hav—of this Committee—and of having made speeches in Geneva, Switzerland.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you in the Federal service—in the service of the Federal Government, during the war?

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you called in there and asked questions if you were affiliated with the Communist Party?

MR. COHEN: When I was called in by Mr. Coleman, I took the initiative in calling to Mr. Coleman's attention—

MR. HOUSTON: I'm speaking of your Federal service, now.

MR. COHEN: Yes. I was commenting on that question.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, it's a different Coleman from the Coleman of this Committee, isn't it?

MR. COHEN: I'm now referring to a conversation I had with Mr. Coleman of your Committee. And Mr. Coleman called me in to confront me with certain accusations of having been a member.

The allegations that he made were that I had made speeches in certain parts of the world where I have never been. I tried to get completely from him any basis there might be for such charges and my attorney advised me at that time to turn over to him the transcript of the conversation between—or an interview between myself and members of the F. B. I., and since you've referred to it I'd like to comment on that.

Every person going into the Government service is subject, of course, to a loyalty check, and there was a question raised in my case and it's quite clear to me now that's just where the question came from.

My case was investigated, a complete report was made and I was completely exonerated. And if the Committee wishes any further information it could get it from Mr. Copeland, who reviewed the information completely. He's available in this community.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever interviewed by any F. B. I. agents?

MR. COHEN: None other than the—for the occasion of this interview, the copy of which—a transcribed copy of which I turned over to this Committee on my own initiative.

MR. HOUSTON: You have a copy of an interview that you've had with the F. B. I., then.

MR. COHEN: And so do you in your records have a copy of the same interview.

MR. HOUSTON: That you—

MR. COHEN: Which I turned over to you at the init—my initiative, at the suggestion of my attorney.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, Mr. Cohen, so that we understand each other, Mr. Coleman of our Committee approached you, telling you what we had in our files—

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —regarding your case.

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Have you any objection to that having been done in advance of the hearing?

MR. COHEN: No. I stated to Mr. Coleman that I was quite ready to speak with him and answer any questions. I would speak in complete confidence, and I hoped that he would let me know what information he had so that it could be corroborated in advance of these hearings. Apparently I got some but not all of the information.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You have no objection to his having approached you?

MR. COHEN: No, sir, not at all.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is all. You may be excused. Thank you for appearing.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for about 10 minutes.

(Recess)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman I believe that I have concluded with the witnesses, and suggest that the hearing be concluded and that the witnesses now under subpoena be released from subpoena until called at a future date with a new subpoena—re-subpoena.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before that is done, I wish to state that in the case of Professor Rader, two professors at the University, Professor Brents Sterling and Professor Joe Harrison, volunteered to appear as character witnesses for Mr. Rader. We have been trying to get in touch with them this afternoon. We would be happy to have them appear as character witnesses. However we are willing to concede that many professors and other people would appear for any person mentioned in these hearings as a character witness. We have tried to limit witnesses to people who have pertinent information. We were, however, unable to reach these people or we would have had them here.

We had another request to testify, whereby a Miss Maureen Meserve, who states that she has been a student in the Repertory Playhouse for the last year, and is willing to testify favorably for the Ottenheimers—Al Ottenheimer and the Jameses. In that no testimony has been adduced covering that period of time regarding the Jameses, or Mr. Ottenheimer, and due to the fact that she could not testify in any pertinent manner, we are not going to introduce this young lady as a witness. However, we are willing to concede that she would—her testimony would be favorable to the Jameses and Mr. Al Ottenheimer.

We will now release all people under subpoena and will adjourn—I am reading the wrong letter. I believe the woman who offered to—I believe you are correct. I thought I had that letter here. The name is Miss Brown—yes,



there it is. Joe Ann Brown. That is why I couldn't find the date, September 1—covering a period between September 1, 1947 to June 1, 1948, the young lady states that she was present in plays at the Repertory Playhouse and could testify favorably for the Jameses and Mr. Ottenheimer during that period of time. We will not put the young lady on the stand. We will concede that she could testify as to her relationships with them, and we will now adjourn subject to a recall of this Committee, and if necessary a re-issuance of some subpoenas at a later date, but all persons presently under subpoena by this Committee are dismissed from that subpoena.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken)

**(CERTIFICATE)**

I, RUSSELL N. ANDERSON, the stenographic reporter employed by the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Washington to report the proceedings of its hearings held on July 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23, 1948, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the matters therein set out.

I do further certify, that the transcript of the proceedings above referred to was verified by Adalyn M. Odey, Wilfred Berger and myself as being true and correct, we having compared word for word said transcript with the electronic recordings taken of the proceedings and the testimony given at said hearings.

RUSSELL N. ANDERSON.

**APPENDIX**  
**A COMPARISON**  
**OF**  
**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE AND THE ACTIVITIES**  
**AND AFFILIATIONS**  
**OF**  
**CERTAIN PROFESSORS AT THE UNIVERSITY**  
**OF WASHINGTON**  
**AND**  
**OFFICIALS OF THE REPERTORY PLAY HOUSE**

Source material for the description of the Communist Party Line consisted of the Daily Worker of New York, which is the official organ of the American Communist Party and shows the changes in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and Appendix IX, Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives. The First Report on Un-American Activities in Washington State—1948—contains an account of the Communist Party Line with detailed source references listed. In the present document summaries, based upon this detailed account, are used.

Source material for the activities and affiliations of the various individuals mentioned herein consist of: Appendix IX; excerpts from the People's World, Communist Party publication of California, and the New World, Communist Party publication of Washington State; daily newspapers, pamphlets, brochures, letter heads, books and articles which material is on file with the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee.

**COMMUNIST PARTY LINE PRIOR TO 1935**

Prior to August 1935 no distinction was made by the Communists between fascist and democratic governments. They were all termed capitalistic and had to be destroyed by a revolution and replaced by a proletarian dictatorship.

**Certain Activities and Affiliations Prior to 1935**

October 1, 1930—SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue of the P.I. states that **Mrs. Florence B. James** becomes an assistant professor of English at the University of Washington today. **Mr. and Mrs. Burton W. James** are to head the department of dramatic arts which was placed under the English department last year.

February 24, 1934—SEATTLE TIMES—"Learning About Russia From **Dr. Garland Ethel.**" By Virginia Boren.

"Whether they wanted to learn about one more nation in the Washington Athletic Club's Neighbor Nation series, or whether it was just curiosity that attends all lectures on the United States newly recognized neighbor Russia, there was an unusually large group of women in the club's main lounge yesterday morning. And they stayed to ask questions of **Dr. Garland Ethel**, member of the University faculty, not only in the lounge but in the dining room dater, where a no-host luncheon honored **Dr. and Mrs. Ethel.**

"No mere description of a unique government system was this lecture. **Dr. Ethel** went into the philosophical motives behind the theories, and interspersed his discussion with bits of information he had picked up in Russia a few years ago when he lived there for some time.

"The prime objective behind the economic, political and social system of the Soviet regime is the production of the highest type of life for the whole of the population, a Marxian theory, Dr. Ethel told his listeners. "The Soviet system," he said, is a new world system. The government believes in what is good for here and now and not some distant future time, some paradise. It believes in the type of life that makes for a width and heighth and depth of human well being and ignores the question of the hereafter.

"In other words, Dr. Ethel explained that there cannot be a decent society until national conditions make men live in peace and well being. Plato asserted that the world is only the shadow reality that is idealism, but Marx contended that the world with its richness, its poverty, its problems, are very real indeed.

"Marx also said, Dr. Ethel remarked, 'that man is subject to natural laws, he behaves definitely in accordance with the fundamental principles of behavior, plus the stimuli that falls upon him. He believed that contrary to the belief that man is a fallen creature, saved only by faith in his church and good works and also contrary to Calvin, that man is a bad egg before he is laid, and the saving of his soul rests only with God, that man's ills are curable and that he can be influenced by his environment.'"

"From the philosophy behind the Soviet regime, Dr. Ethel went on to the physical organization of the government. 'Those who have,' he said, 'expend their energy in the protection of their property, and those who haven't, expend theirs in the attempt to build up property. By private property we do not mean toothbrushes, hats and the shirt on one's back. We mean producers goods. The Soviet system destroys the system of producers private property, gives public control to it and thus does away with class fighting class.'

"The first five-year plan did not complete everything it had hoped to, the lecturer continued, but was a success to a certain degree. Russia, that formerly had few factories and little industrialism, now has great factories. The country stands second in production of petroleum but is behind in its steel industry. Russians, who could not read or write, have been taught and in one part of the country where even wheels had not yet made their appearance and articles were dragged on the ground, illiteracy had been done away with, he asserted. There has been the abolition of classes and the women are treated as equals of men.

"You find women laying bricks, but you also find them at the head of big scientific institutions."

July 22, 1934—SEATTLE TIMES—

"Mrs. James left Friday for the Malverne Stratford Festival in England and from there will travel to Leningrad to see the gigantic Russian festival \* \* \* She will be with the **Oliver Saylor** party. Mr. Saylor will be remembered as the man who prepared the publicity for the Moscow Art Theatre when it was under the direction of Morris Gest. The festival in Leningrad continues from September 1 until September 10 and will include drama, opera and ballet. Mrs. James will return to Seattle in October.

COMMENT: App. IX, Sections 1-6, page 473—Saylor, member of Committee on Arts of the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia. pp. 1602—Contributor to "Soviet Russia Today" propagandist organ for the Soviet Union in 1937.

pp. 1772—Member executive committee, The American Pushkin Committee. "Organizations in behalf of the Soviet Union were among the earliest type of so-called front movements instigated by the Communist International and its affiliated Communist Parties. Both the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia and the American Pushkin Committee are such organizations."

July 22, 1934—SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER—Drama Fetes to Be Visited.

Planning to visit the drama festivals in England and Russia and to bring back to Seattle the latest developments in the European theatrical fields, **Florence Bean James**, director of the Seattle Repertory Theater, left Seattle yesterday on a three-months tour.

During her trip she will take in the ten-day national theater festival in Soviet Russia and later attend the Malvern festival in England, visiting Poland, Germany and France on her trip.

She will be accompanied on her trip by **Marianne King**, San Francisco playwright, and the two will join the drama tour party for the trip through Europe.

COMMENT: Marianne King is listed on the letterhead of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Northern California Committee, as executive Secretary of the organization, January 25, 1938. The letter, signed by her, concerns a \$100 contribution from Seattle to the committee and states she is in correspondence with Mr. Gundlach about the visit to Seattle of Miss Fredericka Martin. The letter is addressed to Mr. Milton Dix, 912 Elliott Ave. W., Seattle.

### COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

August '35 — Sept. '39

Between August 1935 and September 1939, Adolph Hitler emerged as a threat to the Soviet Union as well as to the rest of the world. Opposition to the Fascist governments; support of a collective-security program or a United Front of the Democracies and the Soviet Union against the Fascist nations became the policy of the Communist Party. Important planks in the new curb-the-aggressor line of the Party were the anti-Nazi boycott and support of the O'Connell Peace Act to empower the President to name the aggressors and apply economic sanctions against them. Ardent support of the New Deal and of President Roosevelt and his foreign policy featured the New Line.

### Significant Activities and Affiliations Aug. '35—Sept. '39

February 7, 1936—NORTHWEST VETERAN—"American Civil Liberties Union Official Speaks at Auditorium."

Dr. Harry F. Ward, president of the American Civil Liberties Union, Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, failed to speak on one of his advertised subjects, that of the undesirability of requiring school teachers to take an oath of allegiance to the national and state constitutions \* \* \* Included in the list of sponsors for the lecture were four members of the University of Washington faculty namely; **Farquharson, Tyler, Selden Menefee** and **Hugh DeLacy**.

Following the announcement of the list of sponsors in the daily papers, 58 members of the University faculty issued a public statement in support of the action of the four professors. Among those signing this supporting statement were the following: **Harold Eby, Joseph Butterworth, Maud Beal, Ralph H. Gundlach, Garland Ethel, Melville Jacobs, Melvin Rader and Herbert J. Phillips.**

COMMENT: Dr. Harry F. Ward has a long record of participation in Communist Front Organizations, as speaker for many activities of the Communist Party and affiliated organizations. He has 73 listings in App. IX; 4 listings in House Report No. 1311 and 93 listings in Reports of Special Hearings 1939-41. On February 5, 1940, directors of the American Civil Liberties Union adopted a resolution banning supporters of Communism, Fascism or Nazism from serving on the governing committee or staff and on the same day they accepted the resignation of Dr. Harry F. Ward who had been American Civil Liberties Union chairman for twenty years. It is well to note that on January 27, 1948, during the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee hearing, Louis Budenz, former editor of the Daily Worker and former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, testified under oath, naming Dr. Harry F. Ward as a former member of the Communist Party.

May 31, 1936—PROGRAM—Proceedings of the Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism, I.O.O.F. Temple, Seattle, Washington.

The printed program, or proceedings, of the Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism reveals that Prof. MELVIN RADER was appointed a member of the Rules Committee.

The Resolutions Committee consisted of: \* \* \* GARLAND ETHEL \* \* \* The report of the Resolutions Committee was made by Garland Ethel who reported that a great many resolutions had been turned in to the Committee by the various discussion groups, and that out of the material turned in the Committee had drafted 32 resolutions to be acted upon by the Congress. \* \* \*

Having set forth their program they then elected a permanent Northwest Committee who were pledged to follow out the 32-point program. Prof. MELVIN RADER was elected to this committee. Some features of the adopted program follow in summarized form:

1. Agreed to accept all programs issued by the American League Against War and Fascism issued from its New York headquarters.
2. Pledged itself locally to work for the repealing of state laws requiring school children to salute the American Flag.
3. To work for the repealing of State laws requiring teachers to take the oath of allegiance to the United States.
4. Opposed the dismissal of school teachers who preach Communistic doctrines to their pupils.
5. Resolved to fight company unions, the open shop, the use of troops and injunctions in suppressing labor riots.
6. Endorsed the (**Communist inspired**) American Youth Congress being held in Cleveland, Ohio, July 3, 4 and 5, 1936.
7. Demanded that all criminal syndicalist laws be immediately repealed. (Criminal syndicalist laws of this state were worded against those who "by force or violence" seek to gain their ends.
8. Demanded that all Communists, I.W.W., Anarchists and other political prisoners be immediately released from jail.

9. Demanded that all ROTC and other compulsory military training be instantly removed from all schools and colleges.
10. Endorsed the actions of all students who participate in school or college peace strikes.
11. Endorsed the Soviet Russian peace policy.
12. Demanded that the United States immigration laws be lifted to permit alien revolutionists and other political refugees entry into the U. S. and demanded all such refugees and aliens now in the U. S. be not deported for any seditious activity aimed at the overthrowing of the government.

COMMENT: The 4th Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the regular 1948 California Legislature on page 98 says, "The American League Against War and Fascism was active in the period from 1932 to 1937 in behalf of the Soviet foreign policy. It proclaimed an openly treasonable program. It was cited as subversive by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1940, March 29, 1944, and May 29, 1946. Former Attorney General Francis Biddle cited this organization as established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."

The American League Against War and Fascism is listed as a subversive organization by Attorney General Tom Clark.

April 8, 1937—SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER—"Students Score Warfare by U. S. Peace Plans Endorsed in Poll."

Student attitudes toward war emerged from a survey of 1405 university men and women conducted by **Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach** of the Psychology Department.

Similar surveys are being made in Eastern universities to determine the national trend in collegiate war and peace opinion, Dr. Gundlach said."

May, 1937—"THE COMMUNIST"—

(The following extracts are taken from the May 1937 issue of the "Communist," the official monthly organ of the Communist Party U. S. A.)

"We (Communist Party) must boldly counterpose to . . . reactionary programs a progressive philosophy of education which revitalizes the slogan which is the motto of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS 'Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy'. This motto can give the slogan for a Farmer-Labor philosophy of education, which must be developed as a rallying call to educators out of the morass of pragmatism, away from medievalism, forward toward Marxism-Leninism.

"The rebelliousness of school children, directed against a part of the state machinery itself, is something that Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point of our work among students in the schools.

"In so far as is possible, the broad mass students organization for this purpose should be the AMERICAN STUDENT UNION which, as union for students must fight first and foremost for their immediate economic needs.

(NOTE: The American Student Union was organized by merging the Socialist 'Student League for Industrial Democracy' with the Communist 'National Student League'.)

"The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the AMERI-

CAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, which is the main current of the American Labor Movement.

"The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS must concern itself primarily with the immediate problems of the teachers — salary, tenure, academic freedom, etc. However, the task of the Party must be to draw the organized teachers into a realization of the wider problem of the labor movement.

"It is gratifying that the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS has taken a position as one of the most progressive unions. It is supporting the fight for industrial unionism, although it has not affiliated to the CIO in order that it may more effectively fight for the unity of the American Labor Movement.... It has endorsed the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, has passed resolutions to cooperate with the American League Against War and Fascism and with the American Negro Congress.

"..... Communist teachers cannot afford to ignore this fact—that they come in contact with the children of the masses, that they are responsible for training these children. They must realize that the primary function of the school is to educate children, and this will be true to a much greater extent in a socialist society than now. Communist teachers are, therefore, faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must consider not merely their own teacher problems but the problems of the children. They must fight for the latter. THEY MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR POSITIONS WITHOUT EXPOSING THEMSELVES. TO GIVE THEIR STUDENTS TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY WORKING CLASS EDUCATION.

"TO ENABLE THE TEACHERS IN THE PARTY TO DO THE LATTER, THE PARTY MUST TAKE CAREFUL STEPS TO SEE THAT ALL TEACHER COMRADES ARE GIVEN THOROUGH EDUCATIONS IN THE TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, ONLY WHEN TEACHERS HAVE REALLY MASTERED MARXISM-LENINISM WILL THEY BE ABLE TO SKILLFULLY INJECT IT INTO THEIR TEACHINGS AT THE LEAST RISK OF EXPOSURE AND AT THE SAME TIME TO CONDUCT STRUGGLES AROUND THE SCHOOLS IN A TRULY BOLSHEVIK MANNER.

"The same student and teacher organizations mentioned above must orient themselves toward the different conditions prevailing in colleges and universities. Demands must be put forward for the economic needs of students and teachers, for academic freedom and against racial discrimination.

"Party and YCL fractions **set up within classes and departments** must supplement and combat by means of discussions, brochures, etc., bourgeois omissions and distortions in the regular curriculum. Marxism-Leninism must be undertaken immediately and independently."

May 8, 1937—SUNDAY NEWS—Vol. 3, No. 38—Seattle, Washington. "Teachers Form State Federation."

"Affiliation with the Washington Commonwealth Federation was one of the first acts of the newly formed Washington State Federation of Teachers, composed of Teachers' Unions from Seattle, Snohomish Co., Tacoma and Bremerton, when they convened in Seattle last Saturday to form their organization.

"The new Federation supersedes the smaller informal Washington Joint Council of Teachers, a committee formed a year ago to co-ordinate the program of Teachers' Unions in the public schools, the University and the workers' education projects.

"After adopting a constitution the group voted in **Hugh DeLacy**, councilman elect and discharged University instructor, as President and **Hallie Donaldson** of the West Seattle High School as Vice-President. ..."

"Resolutions adopted asked release of Tom Mooney; King Ramsey Connor; selection of State Supt. of Public Instruction Stanley Atwood as speaker at the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS national convention; civil service laws for teachers; an equalization program for state schools; repeal of the Washington, D. C., loyalty oath bill; continuation of WPA projects at union wages; a referendum on war.

".....  
"The American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Delegates to the Seattle A. F. of L. Central Labor Council for the teachers union were **SELDEN MENEFFEE** of the University of Washington and **VICTOR HICKS** of the WPA educational project."

COMMENT: Affiliation of Local 401, U. of W. teachers' union with the American Federation of Teachers; the Washington Commonwealth Federation and resolutions passed as indicated above, show the beginning of the pattern to be followed by them as their program adjusts to the changing pattern of the Communist Party Line. The Washington State Un-American Activities Committee as well as other agencies have voluminous files on the radical activities of Selden Meneffee, Victor Hicks and Hugh DeLacy. The SUNDAY NEWS was the official organ of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and its editorial board, according to its masthead on the above date, included among its members **Prof. R. G. Tyler**, **Prof. Harold Eby** and ex-prof. **Hugh DeLacy**, all of the University of Washington.

June 15, 1937—NORTHWEST MESSENGER—Special Report—Walla Walla, Washington. "University of Washington."

"For the first time in the history of the University of Washington an alien enemy revolutionist was the invited guest speaker to address members of the student body.

"**MORRIS RAPORT** (Rappaport) Pacific Northwest leader of the Communist Party spoke before the Philosophy Club in the University's Guggenheim Hall on Thursday, June 3, 1937, on the invitation of Professor **MELVIN RADER** of the Philosophy Department of the University of Washington. The meeting was an 'open meeting.'

"Raport is a professional revolutionist in the pay of the Communist International. He was born in 1894 in the Tchernigoff Province in the village of Unetcha, Soviet Russia. His people were Jewish kosher butchers and cattle dealers. Morris, himself, was apprenticed as a Jewish kosher butcher.

"About 1912, his people—parents, sister and himself—went to Canada. After the World War, Morris Raport drifted to the West and settled in Vancouver, B. C.

"About 1924 he appeared in Los Angeles, California, where he was busy organizing the Jewish Branch of the Communist Party and gradually worked himself up to the position of Acting District Organizer of the California District of the Party.

"During a riotous meeting in San Francisco in which two policemen were badly hurt by the Communists, Raport was arrested by the police and later turned over to the U. S. Immigration authorities for deportation. He was

found guilty of being an enemy revolutionist and was confined on Angel Island in the Detention Camp, awaiting his disposition by the U. S. Government.

"In 1932, according to our information, his deportation charges were suspended and he was released again to foment his revolutionary doctrines among the American citizenry, by the Administration in Washington, D. C.

"Upon his release from detention, Raport was assigned to work out of the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York.

"In 1933 he was assigned by the Communist leadership to take charge of all Communist activity in the Pacific Northwest—Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Western Montana and Alaska—relieving Alex Noral who was transferred to California.

"Raport has been in the Northwest ever since building up the Communist revolutionary forces for the overthrow of our American Government.

"Professor MELVIN RADER of the University of Washington who bears the prime responsibility for this man's appearance upon the campus, should be dismissed, but probably the University administration will not bother to do anything about it, in view of their recent acquiescence on the appearance of another alien Communist who addressed the students—HARRY BRIDGES."

January 25, 1938—LETTERHEAD—Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy—Northern California Committee—83 McAllister St., San Francisco, California.

This letterhead listed among other sponsors **Prof. MAX SAVELLE**. This letterhead was used as a letter addressed to **Mr. Milton Dix** of 912 Elliott Ave. W., Seattle, Washington, and was signed by **Marianna King**, executive secretary.

1938—LETTERHEAD—Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, Seattle, Washington.

Among Seattle sponsors or officers or members of the Committee listed on this letterhead were the following: **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach**, **Prof. Melvin Rader**, **Prof. Joseph Harrison** and **Mr. and Mrs. Burton W. James**.

COMMENT: The 4th Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 regular California Legislature says, "A number of projects were organized by American Communists to aid the Spanish Communists. Among these was the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. This organization was cited as subversive by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on April 21, 1943, and again on March 29, 1944."

April 7, 1938—SEATTLE TIMES—"Mrs. James to Lose 'U' Post."

**Mrs. James** will lose her part-time employment in the University of Washington drama division next fall unless efforts made by the Teachers Union local at the University and other efforts on her behalf are successful, she said this afternoon.

**Dr. Elton Guthrie**, secretary of the Teachers Union, said today the union had correspondence with **Dr. Dudley D. Griffith**, head of the English Dept. and **Mrs. James'** superior, about her dismissal. The union also has asked the instructors association board to take up the matter, **Dr. Guthrie** said.

April 28, 1938—DAILY WORKER—"Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials."

(This statement also appeared in the May 3, 1938 issue of NEW MASSES).

App. IX, Sections 1-6, page 1617. "The statement was obviously a document concocted in defense of the line of the Communist Party and undoubtedly

originated in the headquarters of the Communist Party. The following excerpts from the statement seem significant: 'We, the undersigned, are fully aware of the confusion that exists with regard to the Moscow Trials and the real facts about the situation in the Soviet Union. \* \* \* The measures taken by the Soviet Union to preserve and extend its gains and its strength therefore find their echoes here, where we are staking the future of the American people on the preservation of progressive democracy and the unification of our efforts to prevent the Fascist from strangling the rights of the people. American liberals must not permit their outlook on these questions to be confused, nor allow their recognition of the place of the Soviet Union in the international fight of democracy against Fascism to be destroyed. We call upon them to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, and to rally support for the international fight against Fascism, the principal menace to peace and democracy.'

COMMENT: Among Seattle persons whose names were signed to this statement were the following: **Dr. Garland Ethel**, **Selden Menefee**, **Albert Ottenheimer**, **Burton James** and **Florence B. James**.

May 1938—THE WASHINGTON TEACHER—Vol. 1, No. 6, Seattle, Wn. The May 1938 issue of the Washington Teacher, official publication of the Washington State Federation of Teachers, contains an article revealing the following:

University of Washington Local 401, American Federation of Teachers, elected the following officers on May 10. **Ralph Gundlach**, President; **R. G. Tyler**, Vice-President; **Melville Jacobs**, Secretary; **Viola Garfield**, Treasurer.

May 26, 1938—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Union Gives Post To Mrs. James."

The last chapter in the University of Washington dismissal of **Mrs. Florence B. James**, drama teacher, has not yet been written it was indicated yesterday. Members of the Teachers Union have elected her vice-president for a full year term and are still working for her employment, according to **Elton Guthrie**, former president of the Union.

The new president of the Union is **Ralph Gundlach**, assistant professor of psychology, and the new secretary is **Melville Jacobs**, assistant professor of anthropology.

1938—SCIENCE AND SOCIETY—Spring Issue—**Prof. Herbert J. Phillips** listed as a contributing editor.

COMMENT: App. IX, page 1447—"Throughout its existence in this country the Communist Party has made a specialty of propaganda through publications and periodicals. It would be difficult indeed to compile an absolutely complete record and list of all these publications and periodicals but the following tabulation presents many of them":

NOTE: Included in this tabulation is the periodical "SCIENCE AND SOCIETY."

House Report No. 2100 of the Special Commission to Investigate the Activities within the Commonwealth of Communistic, Fascist, Nazi and other Subversive Organizations, so called in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—1937. Page 284. "Science and Society—A Marxian Quarterly—The issue for the summer of 1937 of this magazine was No. 4, Vol. 1. **William T. Parry**, former assistant at Harvard University, is the managing editor. . . . He is the present director of the Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston.

Other officials as given in the above mentioned issue include: . . . Contributing editors: Granville Hicks, Lee Huberman, Corliss Lamont, Robert Morss Lovett, HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, University of Washington, . . ."

August 16, 1938—SEATTLE STAR—Statement by RALPH HOWARD—"Organizer Says Party Strong In Washington Commonwealth Federation.

"I am an ex-member of the Communist Party.

"For 7 years I served as an organizer in one part of the country or another.

"6 years ago I was sent into the Pacific Northwest as an organizer. Two years ago, on behalf of the Party, I formed an association of workers from among men employed on federal projects and from those in the ranks of the unemployed, which we called the WORKER'S ALLIANCE.

"With headquarters in Seattle, I travelled extensively throughout the Pacific Northwest building local branches of the ALLIANCE.

"I served as organizational secretary of the WORKER'S ALLIANCE for more than one year. During this time I had an excellent opportunity to meet with and fraternize with members of the Communist Party in and around Seattle. I believe I know the Communists of this area as well as any other person in Seattle.

"Just a little more than one year ago, I was expelled from the Communist Party. The higher ups decided I was doing too much thinking for myself and was operating too independently for them. Since that time I've had no connection with Communism or Communists.

"During my term as organizational Secretary with the WORKER'S ALLIANCE the ALLIANCE was taken into membership in the Washington Commonwealth Federation. Through that connection I got to know well many of the members and most of the officers of the W.C.F. and their backgrounds.

"Today I was shown a list of the members of the present executive committee of the W.C.F. I know definitely from my own association with them, that the following from among the names on this list of executive committee members are now, or were at one time, members of the Communist Party: H. C. Armstrong, Eugene Dennett, Chas. Legg, Harold Brockway, Bill Dobbins, William Pennock, Frances Brooks and **Professor Harold Eby**.

"From my knowledge of the operations of the W.C.F. and the activities of the persons named above I do not hesitate to make the statement that the activities of the Commonwealth Federation are now being and have in the past been largely influenced by the Communist Party."

Signed: RALPH HOWARD.

COMMENT: The editorial in this issue of the STAR states an affidavit to the above is on file.

August 25, 1938—SEATTLE STAR—"Seattle Pastor Quits League; Hits Communism."

Rev. E. C. Nance, pastor of the 1st Christian Church, sent a letter Thursday to the Northwest District Organization of the American League For Peace and Democracy asking that his name be withdrawn as one of the sponsors because of the identification of Communists with the organization.

The withdrawal of one of Seattle's leading ministers came simultaneously with a new blast by the LEAGUE attacking activities of the DIES Investigating Committee.

In his letter to N. P. Atkinson, executive chairman of the League's Northwest organization, the Rev. Nance says, "In as much as you have used my name on your sponsors roll and because of the identification of Communists with your

organization this would lead many to believe that I approve of Communism. To instantly remove this possibility I ask you to remove my name from your list of sponsors."

The pastor, denouncing Communism added: "There is nothing wrong with America that Americans themselves cannot correct by and through good American methods. We do not need the help of Moscow."

COMMENT: A list of the members of the Continuations Committee of the Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy was given in this same article. The Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy according to their own literature. Among the persons listed as being members of the Continuations Committee of the Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy were: **Hugh DeLacy**, Sarah Eldredge, Howard Costigan, **Prof. Robert Iglehart**, Richard Seller and MELVIN RADER.

October 29, 1938—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—"Teachers Propose World Peace Parley—Believe United States Should Take the First Step On Conference."

Editor: New Dealer:

"Recent reports in the New York Times indicate that the international commission supervising dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is basing its decision on antiquated census figures and is now ceding predominantly Czechoslovakian districts to Germany.

"In communications which we are addressing to the President of the United States, Secretary of State and the Washington State delegation to Congress we vigorously protest these new mutilations of a great and democratic nation and we call upon American Government to disassociate itself publicly from the Chamberlain-Daladier policy of immense concessions to aggressor nations at the expense of their victims.

"The President of the United States has splendidly championed an alternative policy of quarantining aggressor nations and of respecting international agreement. Yet our government has established and maintained a Spanish embargo, the effect of which has been, first to quarantine a friendly republic defending itself against internal and foreign aggression and second violates a solemn treaty dating back from 1902 guaranteeing full and complete equality of commerce and navigation between Spain and the United States.

"Hence we urge immediate lifting of the embargo, a step consistent with American ideals. We also recommend passage of the O'Connell Peace Act as practical implementation of the President's recommendations.

"Equipped with tremendous economic strength and protected by natural barriers our nation can determine the fate of the world without resorting to military action."

Signed: **Melville Jacobs**, Secy. Ex. Bd. Loc. 401, Am. Fed. of Teachers.

COMMENT: Following the Communist Party Line switch American Federation of Teachers locals over the United States dropped their pacifist program and adopted the New Party Line as evidenced by the preceding action of Local 401.

**Prof. Harold Eby** was the local president of this Teachers Union local in 1935. There were about 60 members of the University of Washington faculty in the local which was organized early in 1935 and affiliated with the local A. F. of L. in June of that year.

February 1, 1939—POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue announces the sponsoring individuals and organizations of a Mass Meeting on Spain announced for Feb. 9, 1939. Among these individuals and organizations were the following: **Hugh DeLacy, Mr. and Mrs. Burton James, Prof. Ralph Gundlach and Prof. Melvin Rader**, The Washington Commonwealth Federation, Social Workers Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, American League for Peace and Democracy, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Prof. Harold J. Laski, British radical, speaks at this meeting.

Seattle Daily Papers—

On February 9, 1939, a meeting was held in the Moore Hotel for the purpose of raising money for the Spanish relief. The main speakers were Prof. Harold Laski and Howard Costigan. Chairman of the meeting was **Prof. Giovanni Costigan**.

COMMENT: Prof. Harold Laski is listed 3 times in App. IX; has 5 listings in Report of Hearings 1939-41, Special House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; was honorary vice president of Freethinkers of America, and is in the chapter on Atheist and Marxist Church Movements. Laski was guest lecturer at the University of Washington during the winter quarter of 1939.

In Appendix IX on page 1206 I find that **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** is listed as one of the signers of the call to the National Emergency Conference held in May 1939. This was purportedly a Communist Front organization. On page 1205 I find the following: "The National Emergency Conference met in Washington, D. C. on May 13 and 14, 1939. The personnel of the sponsors of the conference indicates clearly that it was a Communist Front organization. A check of the index of this report will establish the extensive interlocking directorate of the conference with other Communist Front organizations."

April 30, 1939—POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Fascism Hit By Educators In Manifesto." Total of 30 Washington Teachers Among Signers; 5 Point Program Urged for Schools.

"A manifesto, signed by 2,169 American educators and publicists summoning their colleagues to take conscious part in defense of democracy was released yesterday in Seattle through **Melville Jacobs**, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Washington.

"The manifesto defines fascism as 'despising and suppressing the truth and glorifying war as the highest human god.' Under the threat it displays toward peace and democratic principles, this nation 'cannot remain passive,' it declares.

"This manifesto, among whose signers are thirty Washington Teachers, put up a 5 point program of support for democracy by recommending comprehensive provisos for training in schools and institutions.

"What is our responsibility," the document reads. We must recognize the threat to democracy inherent in demands for retrenchment in education, in attacks on the Bill of Rights, in gag laws, in censorship of teachers and journalists, in racial and religious intolerance, in those newspapers which make profit or power their chief god."

Sept. 2, 1939—SATURDAY EVENING POST—Communist Wreckers In American Labor. By Benjamin Stolberg.

"\* \* \* The Communists have never got very far in the A. F. of L. The few unions they controlled—such as the furriers, office workers, West Coast longshoremen, the newspapermen—they transferred to the C.I.O. in 1937.

"There is, however, one exception. The Communists control the American Federation of Teachers. The president of this union, Jerome Davis, a former associate professor of social ethics in the Yale Divinity School, has for years been conducting summer tours in the Soviet Union, which, since 1934, none but a completely orthodox Stalinist would have been permitted to do.

"According to Dr. Davis, 'There is academic freedom in the Soviet Union for everybody who deserves it.' Apparently this is also true of the American Federation of Teachers. For under his administration, the tendency is actually to bar anti-Stalinists from the union. Dr. Davis believes that 'a teachers' union should be a select group,' which is another way of saying that the teachers union should be under Stalinist control.

"In 1936, disruption in the New York chapter of the union had reached such proportions that a committee was appointed under Dr. John Dewey, to try to bring about peace. The committee hearings, open to the members, were turned into riots by the Communists who called the distinguished philosopher a scab for Columbia University. The committee finally reported that Communist disruption was wrecking the union. Dr. John Dewey and Henry R. Linville, president of the New York Union, later withdrew taking with them a few hundred members.

"Since then the Stalinists have had it all their own way, both nationally and in the important New York local. The American Teacher, the New York Teacher, the College News Letter, all of them union publications, are virtually house organs of the Party.

"When in 1938, Lillian Herstein of Chicago, a well known progressive, ran for the presidency against Jerome Davis, the Communists defeated her by combining with the most reactionary wing of the union and by starting a virulent anti-Semitic campaign on the ground that it would be 'unwise' to have a Jewess at the head of a union of American teachers.

"In the college section of the Union, especially in New York, the real progressives have been constantly subjected to organized campaigns of character assassination. College students, who were members of the American Student Union, were put up to picketing the classrooms of progressive teachers and badgering them during lectures. At last the situation boiled over at Teachers College, Columbia University. Prof. John L. Childs, George W. Hartmann, Harold Rugg, Bruce Raupp, Louis Hacker and other leading educators, liberals of national influence, resigned from the union."

June 1, 1939—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—"Speaker's Bureau Now Functioning."

Speakers qualified to speak authoritatively on important social and political topics available to all organizations contacting the Washington Commonwealth Federation Speakers' Bureau. This was announced this week by Michael B. Smith, chairman. Available speakers include:

|                   |                |                         |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Howard Costigan   | N. P. Atkinson | Michael Smith           |
| Tom Rabbitt       | Bill Pennock   | Ernest T. Olson         |
| Terry Pettus      | John Caughlan  | Kathryn Fogg            |
| H. C. Armstrong   | Ed. E. Henry   | <b>Prof. Harold Eby</b> |
| James T. Sullivan |                |                         |



June 30, 1939—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Bridges Defense Committee Formed."

A Harry Bridges Defense Committee was formed here yesterday for the purpose of attempting to obtain an open hearing by immigration authorities for the West Coast C.I.O. director.

A hearing on deportation charges against Bridges is set for July 10, on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay.

Listed as members of the committee are **Professors Harold Eby, Garland Ethel, R. G. Tyler and Melvin M. Rader**. Prof. Melvin Rader is chairman of the Washington State Sponsoring Committee for Harry Bridges.

COMMENT: The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, 78th Congress in App. IX, page 592 states: "The Harry Bridges Defense Committee, the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee must be designated as front organizations of the Communist Party U. S. A."

### COMMUNIST PARTY LINE Aug. 23, 1939 — June 22, 1941

On August 23, 1939, with the signing of the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact the Communist Party precipitately discarded its collective security curb-the-aggressors line and suddenly adopted a new Isolationist Program. It officially dropped the anti-Nazi boycott and anti-Nazi propaganda disappeared from its press. The Party proceeded to denounce President Roosevelt as a warmonger and to attack the New Deal. Support of the so-called Soviet Russian Peace Policy was declared of prime importance.

### Significant Activities and Affiliations Aug. 23, 1939 — June 22, 1941

December 20, 1939—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"War Called Peril to Democracy."

"War is the greatest menace to democracy and to civil liberties, Dr. Walter Fowler, President of the Washington State Baptist convention asserted last night at a meeting of the PEACE MOBILIZATION COUNCIL held at the Swedish Baptist Church. 'If America becomes involved in this world conflict we will be under a dictatorship,' he warned.

"Other speakers included **Mrs. Florence B. James**, director of the Washington State Theater."

January 19, 1940—SEATTLE STAR—"DeLacy Endorsed By Teachers."

Local 401, American Federation of Teachers, A. F. of L. affiliate, last night endorsed the candidacy of Councilman Hugh DeLacy for reelection and voted to contribute \$25 from its treasury toward his campaign fund.

COMMENT: During the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee Hearing January 27 to February 5, 1948 inclusive, thirteen different witnesses gave sworn testimony as to Hugh DeLacy's affiliations and activities in the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

February 21, 1940—DAILY WORKER—"Signers of Protest."

"The following outstanding Americans, writers, poets, playwrights, educators, judges, critics and public officials signed the letter to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson protesting the attacks upon the Veterans

of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration."

COMMENT: Among the names listed were those of **Bonnie Bird, Melvin Rader and Ralph Gundlach**.

NOTE: App. IX, page 1647—"After the conclusion of the civil war in Spain and the return to this country of a large number of those Americans who had fought on the side of the loyalists, the principal Communist organization which carried on agitations and propaganda on the subject of Spain was the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

DAILY WORKER—Dec. 20, 1939—"After the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the organization that 'can and will' be an important force in helping the American people to see through the plots of those who are actually dragging them to the brink of war." (Referring to the V.A.L.B.)

DAILY WORKER—Dec. 25, 1939—This issue carried the greetings of the Veteran's convention to the "heroic Finnish Government and its leader Kuusinen \* \* \* with wishes for a speedy victory." (Kuusinen, former secretary of the Communist International, had been appointed by the Soviet Government as its puppet ruler in Finland following invasion.)

COMMENT: The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

April 5, 1940—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Peace Conference at Moore Theater."

The Women's COMMITTEE FOR PEACE held a meeting at the Moore Theater. Hugh DeLacy was chairman and FLORENCE B. JAMES gave an outline of events leading up to the rally. Other speakers were: Hugo Lundquist and John Bader (both later expelled from Aeronautical Mechanics Union for Communist Activities), Harold Brockway (Communist candidate for governor in 1936), Eugene V. Dennett (removed as Ex. Secy. W'n. State Industrial Union Council for Communist activities), Harvey Jackson (also removed from the Aero Mechanics Union) and William Pennock (still openly active).

COMMENT: The WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR PEACE became a division of AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION, March 1941.

April 11, 1940—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—"Peace Rally Adopts WCF War Position."

The Peace Program of the WCF, "feed the people and starve the war," was unanimously adopted by more than 2,000 persons attending a peace rally at the Moore Theater last week. The rally, one of a series held over the state in commemoration of the 23rd anniversary of America's entrance into the last war, heard leaders of church, trade union, youth and political groups brand the European conflict as an imperialistic war and demand that the national administration take the necessary economic steps to prevent America's involvement.

April 16, 1940—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue reports that Prof. George S. Counts, National President of the American Federation of Teachers, was banned from speaking on the University of Washington campus. Sponsors arranged to have him speak at the Repertory Playhouse.



COMMENT: A letter in the "Voice of the People" states of Dr. Counts: "A former member of Russia's Moscow Summer School, editor of the Social Frontiers, educational journal in which he states that, 'the way lies forward and to the left,' and that it is 'enlisted in the battle against production for profit and for collective ownership of all means of production.'"

On page 97 of the late Count's book (Prospects of American Democracy), we read: "The civil liberties of the masses of the people can be preserved by breaking the hold of property ownership and introducing the democratic principle into the economic system." Page 104 of the same book reads as follows: "to expect an aristocracy to surrender its privileges is to expect miracles. It never will submit until it has recourse to final arbiter of human disputes—the sword."

NOTE: This is the man who headed the American Federation of Teachers in 1940.

April 18, 1940—TEMPO—"The Yanks Are Not Coming."

The University of Washington magazine "Tempo" published in its April number as a leading article, the "Yanks Are Not Coming," by Mike Quin, editor of the People's World. Footnotes compiled by members of the TEMPO staff show that the principal documentation is from Merchants of Death. On page 79 one of these footnotes is as follows: "The American loan to Finland would have endowed 20 American colleges very pleasingly; could have provided the U. of W. with a superb library; could have done any one of hundreds of constructive things. It did nothing but testify to American inconsistency and international hypocrisy; for while we succored the Finns, we aided the Japanese to slaughter the Chinese."

Professor **MELVILLE JACOBS**, in an article published in the University of Washington DAILY April 18, 1940, says as follows: "The Yanks Are Not Coming" is so well written and intelligently documented as to put it on the must read list of everybody on the campus.

COMMENT: App. IX, pages 1766 and 1767, says, "Quin is the 'popular People's World columnist.' The 'People's World' is a Communist Party newspaper published in San Francisco. In his booklet, the Democratic Front, Earl Browder included the People's World in a list of the Party's newspapers."

May 29, 1940—SEATTLE TIMES—

An article in this issue reports that a Peace Meeting, this time an open air meeting, was held at the University of Washington on May 29th. The meeting was attended by about 2,000 students. This meeting was sponsored by the PEACE COMMITTEE which in turn is sponsored by the Communist controlled CIVIL RIGHTS CLUB. The students were asked to vote YES or NO on the question, "The United States Should Stay Out of the European War." The vote was 2,341 YES and 161 for entering the war. This meeting was addressed by **Prof. Edwin Wagenknecht**. **Prof. Melvin Rader** was also a speaker on this program.

May 29, 1940—POST-INTELLIGENCER—

This paper contained an article of which excerpts are given below. "**Wagenknecht** said that war leads to dictatorship," and **Rader** said, "We cannot be directly attacked, blockaded, starved or invaded and that was proof enough we should stay out of war."

June 5, 1940—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue reports that Mrs. Marion Camozzi, chairman of the Downtown WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR PEACE and **Mrs. Florence B. James**, director of the Repertory Playhouse, were speakers at an organization meeting, Queen Anne Women's COMMITTEE FOR PEACE.

COMMENT: Mrs. Camozzi admitted during a trial in the Machinists Union that she is a Communist Party member.

June 6, 1940—SEATTLE TIMES—

An article in this issue of the Times reveals that **Professor Ralph Gundlach** of the University of Washington faculty has been named a national sponsor of the NORTH AMERICAN SPANISH AID COMMITTEE which committee is now conducting a nationwide campaign to raise \$150,000 for aid to French (Spanish in France) refugees.

June 18, 1940—LETTERHEAD—North American Spanish Aid Committee.

On this letterhead **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** is listed as a member of the Executive Board of the North American Spanish Aid Committee.

April 28, 1940—POST INTELLIGENCER—Progressive Conference Hit by W.C.F.

Members of the Federation's executive board who voted on the anti-conference policy were:

|                 |                   |                    |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Kathryn Fogg    | Eugene V. Dennett | Howard J. Costigan |
| William Pennock | Michael Gallagher | Prof. HAROLD EBY   |
| Vincent Navea   | Harvey Jenkins    | Harold Brockway    |
| George Lane     | Hugh Lundquist    | Hugh DeLacy        |

This information was furnished the P.-I. by Hugh DeLacy.

April 28, 1940—SEATTLE TIMES—Washington Commonwealth Federation to Shun Parley Asking Anti-Red Vow.

"Members of the WCF withdrew from a meeting to plan next Saturday's Progressive Conference in Tacoma when it was decided that all present should swear allegiance to the United States and sign a pledge that they were not Communist, Fascist or Nazi, Mark M. Litchman, chairman of the conference information committee said yesterday."

COMMENT: On page 2 of the Feb. 8, NEW DEALER, the W.C.F. stand on the war is given from which the following is an extract:

"\* \* \* the imposition of an embargo against the shipment of arms to the lawfully elected government of Spain; continued material assistance to Japan's invading armies in China; repeal of the arms embargo under circumstances giving the steel barons and the munitions kings a vested interest in the continuance of war and turning our factories into arsenals for the French and British empires; a renewal of economic pressure on the governments of Mexico and Cuba for the purpose of preventing those nations from proceeding with domestic policies answering to the needs of their people; increased appropriations for armaments at a time when no nation menaces our shores and circumvention of the cash and carry provisions of the neutrality act by transferring American ships to foreign registry, and preparing to loan belligerents abroad millions of idle dollars refused the unemployed at home; all these actions by our government indicate that the U. S. is already following the same foreign and domestic policy which, under President Woodrow Wilson, took our people unwittingly step by step from cash orders to war credits and from war credits to armed participation."

"It is evident that the President and Congress of the U. S. are increasingly depending on the war needs of other nations and upon our own warlike preparations to provide the way out of unsolved domestic problems."

July 4, 1940—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

This issue of the New Dealer contains an article announcing that **Prof. Harold Eby** was to talk on war and its relation to pensions and domestic security before the Duvall Old Age Pension Union July 9.

COMMENT: The following extract of testimony taken during the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee hearing Jan. 27 to Feb. 5, 1948: " \* \* \* The various locals of the Pension Union are infested with Communist speakers. A few are listed: Tom Rabbitt, John Caughlan, N. P. Atkinson, Hugh DeLacy and **Prof. Harold Eby**. \* \* \* It is very seldom that a speaker other than a Communist is invited to speak before an old age pension union local."

NOTE: Some 46 witnesses testified, in addition to the presentation of voluminous documentary evidence, and a preponderance of evidence indicates that the Washington Pension Union is Communist dominated and that it has consistently followed the Communist Party Line regardless of whether that policy was in agreement with or opposition to the foreign policy of the U. S. Government.

August 1, 1940—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

An article in this issue reveals that **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** is listed as one of the sponsors of the Seattle PEACE COORDINATING COMMITTEE, which committee later merged into the AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION.

COMMENT: The Seattle Peace Coordinating Committee—a Communist front organization opposing the national defense program—will send a delegation to the EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION MEETING in Chicago August 31st through September 1 and 2, 1940. App. IX, page 390—"The Emergency Peace Mobilization at its Labor Day meeting in Chicago founded the American Peace Mobilization "to give expression to the Communist line on foreign policy which grew out of the Stalin-Hitler pact."

October 10, 1940—POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Seattle Group Protests Red Ballot Ban."

Two national committees and a group of Seattle residents yesterday protested recent action in barring the Communist Party from the Washington State ballot and termed it an "attack on American Democracy." The national protests were in the form of telegrams to Attorney General Smith Troy and Governor Clarence D. Martin sent by the Committee on Election Rights and by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Seattle protest addressed to Mrs. Belle Reeves, Secretary of State and carrying twenty signatures among whom were: **Prof. Melvin Rader** and Hugh DeLacy.

November 19, 1940—POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue reports that the Seattle Peace Groups were reconstructed into the "Seattle Council of American Peace Mobilization."

COMMENT: American Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist Front organization by the Secretary of Labor on August 1, 1941; by the Rapp Courdart Committee of New York State in their report in 1942 on page 221; by Attorney General Francis Biddle in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684 and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities report of March 29, 1944. It is also on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

January 25, 1941—SEATTLE DAILY PAPERS—

An article in these issues reveal that the State Senate voted against seating Lenus Westman, 27 to 17, because of former Communist Party membership.

According to these papers **Ralph Gundlach** was one of the persons signing the protest by telegram over Lenus Westman's removal from the Legislature. He signed as President of the Executive Board of Local 401, University of Washington Teachers Union.

February 17, 1941—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Aid Bill Hit At People's Conference."

University of Washington Local 401 of the Teachers Union submitted a resolution branding the lease-lend bill as "dangerous" and urging its defeat.

This message was sent to each member of the state's congressional delegation. The messages were sent as the view of only the local and its members, according to a referendum vote, **Dr. Garland Ethel**, secretary, said.

February 24, 1941—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"111 Members of 'U' Faculty Back Aid Bill—Telegram Sent Wallgren and Bone; Message Follows Adverse Action By Union."

A telegram signed by 111 members of the "U" of Washington faculty expressing their support of the lease-lend bill now in congress has been sent to Washington's two senators, it was announced last night.

The message declared, in part, that "preservation of freedom in America depends upon the defeat of the totalitarian powers. Effective and immediate aid to Britain in her valiant fight is therefore a pressing necessity if we are to continue our way of life without ourselves becoming actively engaged in war. We believe these ends can best be attained by the speedy passage of House Resolution 1776."

COMMENT: It is indicative, it would seem, that **Professors Joseph Butterworth, Harold Eby, Garland Ethel, Ralph Gundlach, Melville Jacobs, Herbert Phillips, Melvin Rader** and **Maud Beal**, as members of the Teachers Union must have supported the action expressed by the above mentioned resolution for their names are not included in the list of those signing the action by other faculty members on Feb. 24.

March 5, 1941—DAILY WORKER—

In this issue of the Daily Worker, official newspaper of the Communist Party, U. S. A., featured in a full page spread the names of several hundred persons who defended the Communist Party against alleged persecution. The statement of these persons speaks for itself, but it is noteworthy that their defense of the Communist Party was made at a time when the United States was being swept by a nation-wide series of sabotage strikes in the country's defense industries. These strikes were Communist inspired and Communist led.

COMMENT: Among those listed are the names of the following local persons: Hugh DeLacy and **Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach** of the U. of W.

April 8, 1941—DAILY PAPERS—

Issue of daily papers of the above date carried an article revealing that pickets of the AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION were picketing the WHITE HOUSE with signs demanding that the United States remain at peace. "All out aid to England means total war for America," one sign read.

April 11, 1941—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Peace Group Pass Six Resolutions."

Members of the WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR PEACE, division of the AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION yesterday made public six resolutions including one which protests "conscription of women" and demands that "America get out and stay out of the imperialistic war." One resolution protests the "use of convoys," another "strike breaking" and another the passage of the merchant seaman act of '41.

April 29, 1941—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

In this issue an article reports that **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** and **Hugh DeLacy** are on the CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR HARRY BRIDGES. Dr. Gundlach last night confirmed he is a sponsor but had no comment to make. Sponsors of one of the several committees for the defense of Harry Bridges are: **Paul Robeson**, **John T. Bernard** who was in Spain with **Jerry O'Connell**, **Dr. Melvin Rader**, **John Caughlan**, **Dr. R. G. Tyler** and **Dr. Harold Eby**.

COMMENT: The above committees were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives on March 29, 1944.

May 6, 1941—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue reports that Legislation to take into custody aliens subject to deportation from the United States was described as "open, blatant Fascism," by **Dr. Melville Jacobs**, U. of W. anthropologist. In a letter read to a house judiciary sub-committee Mr. Jacobs said the measure would "start the ball of Fascism rolling" in this country.

May 21, 1941—POST-INTELLIGENCER—600 "U." of "W" Students At Peace Forum.

**Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** was faculty speaker at an off-campus rally previously denied use of University buildings or campus by Dr. Sieg.

Ralph Gundlach, associate professor of psychology at the U. of W. was called to the platform, and gave a talk on "Democracy or Fascism." He condemned the government, the newspapers and the faculty for the suppression of free speech and free assembly, stating that our so-called form of democratic government was fast turning into a Fascist government.

June 1941—THROWAWAY SHEET—This sheet read, "A conference for People's Rights issued a call for a conference to be held at the Seattle Moose Hall, 6th and Union, Saturday June 7, 1941. All individuals and organizations interested in safeguarding civil liberties, freedom of assembly, speech, etc., also protection against the F.B.I. and local police Gestapo measures of wire-tapping, depriving of constitutional freedom of assembly of the workers and the Hitler-like methods used in making it impossible to rent a hall or radio time in Seattle are asked to attend the Conference to send delegates. The slogan adopted is 'To Stop Hitlerism At Home.'" Among the sponsors listed was the name of **Prof. Ralph Gundlach**.

June 12, 1941—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

In this issue there is an article reporting on the Conference for People's Rights Meeting Saturday, June 7, in the Evergreen Hall, Arcade building. It reveals that the organizations name was changed at this meeting to the "Washington Committee for People's Rights" and voted to affiliate with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and adopted the latter's 9 point program. Among the officers elected was Chairman, **Ralph Gundlach**.

COMMENT: Following is the section of the program of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties relating to defense industry strikes: "The right of labor to organize, bargain collectively, picket and strike; at Vultee, in Dearborn, on Sparrows Point, wherever workers are exercising their lawful rights to form unions, etc. anti labor forces are using the cry of 'national defense' as a weapon against them. The National Federation assists labor by presenting the facts and stimulating active public support for labor's rights."

App. IX, page 1222. "Since its inception in June 1940, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has, perhaps been the foremost Communist Front organization in the United States."

This organization is also on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

### COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

June 22, 1941 — Sept. 2, 1945

On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, the German armies started their eastward invasion and on the same day the American Peace Mobilization pickets withdrew from the White House. The "Yanks Are Not Coming" banners and slogan changed overnight to "The Yanks Are Coming." Full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia to bring about the military defeat of Fascism; forward to a world wide People's front against Hitler and for the defense of the Soviet Union; opening of the second front; repeal of the Neutrality Act; no longer is Roosevelt a warmonger and no sacrifice is too great to give full support to the President's foreign policy. These objectives were of prime importance and so said the Communist Party U. S. A.

### Significant Activities and Affiliations

June 22, 1941 — Sept. 2, 1945

July 13, 1941—SEATTLE TIMES—

An article in this issue concerns the visit of Mrs. Bonnie Gundlach to New York. The article stated that Mrs. Gundlach visited the Dr. Eduard Lindemans. He is educator at the School for Social Work in New York and recently president of the Association for Propaganda Analysis.

COMMENT: Dr. Eduard Lindeman, endorser of Brockwood College, which was banned by the A. F. of L. as Communistic; on the board of counselors of the notorious Commonwealth College; was advisory editor of "Champion," the organ of the Young Communist League; has a vast number of affiliations and activities connected with the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

August 31, 1941—SEATTLE TIMES—

An article in this issue reveals that **Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach** of the University of Washington was a visitor in Washington, D. C., the past week-end.

He attended sessions of the American Federation of Teachers Convention at Detroit before going to Washington, D. C. He will go from Washington to Chicago to read a paper on peace movements before the annual sessions of the American Psychology Society. While in Washington, D. C., Dr. Gundlach has been a guest at the home of **Prof. and Mrs. Selden Menefee**, former University of Washington faculty members.

COMMENT: The files of the Washington State Un-American Activities are replete with information relative to activities and affiliations of **Selden Menefee**.

October 15, 1941—LEAFLET—

A leaflet advertising "United Defense Rally"—our country has pledged aid to Britain, Russia, China, etc.

COMMENT: Among the names of the sponsors listed on this sheet was that of **Mrs. Florence B. James**.

October 16, 1941—SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER—"United Defense Rally" at Music Hall, Seattle, Washington.

"Our country has pledged aid to Britain, Russia and China. That aid now in full and decisive measure is America's first and best defense. Hear the isolationists and appeasers answered."

COMMENT: This meeting was also billed as "Anti-Hitler" and as "Community Wide Defense Rally."

October 22, 1941—POST INTELLIGENCER—"Neutrality Act Repeal Urged by 'U' Teachers."

133 members of staff sign resolution sent to State's Senators and Representatives. Among those signing this resolution were the following: **Maud Beal, Joseph Butterworth, Giovanni Costigan, Harold Eby, Garland Ethel, Albert Franzke, Ralph Gundlach, Joseph B. Harrison, Melville Jacobs, Angelo Pellegrini, Herbert Phillips, Melvin Rader and R. G. Tyler**.

COMMENT: This would seem significant in that this action is the exact opposite of the action taken by many of the above on the preceding February.

October 21-22, 1941—NATIONAL AMERICANS ALL WEEK—

Appendix IX, page 350. "National Americans All Week under the auspices of the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN." Seattle Sponsors listed included: **Hugh DeLacy**, chairman ACPFB, and **Melville Jacobs**, Professor at the University of Washington.

COMMENT: App. IX, pages 340-345. The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, formerly known as the National Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born, was founded by the Communist Party in order to exploit racial divisions in the United States for its own revolutionary purposes.

December 4, 1941—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

An article in this issue reveals that **Prof. H. J. Phillips**, American Federation of Teachers, Local No. 401, and member of the faculty of the University of Washington, is listed among signers of the call to the Washington Commonwealth Federation State Emergency Defense Conference.

January 1942—COMMITTEE FOR CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS—

App. IX, page 1564. **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** was an endorser of the Com-

mittee for Citizenship Rights organized to defend the American Citizenship of **Wm. Schneiderman**, in January 1942. This action was also endorsed by **Mrs. Giovanni Costigan**.

App. IX, page 1563—"William Schneiderman and Sam Darcy have been two of the most prominent Communist Party leaders in this country. Their defenders were, for the most part, the Communists and the veteran fellow travellers who usually compose the membership of such front organizations."

April 23, 1942—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

An article in this issue of the New Dealer announces that **Florence B. James** will speak at a meeting of the Washington Old Age Pension Union at its meeting on April 23. The article stated further that **Mrs. James** has visited the Soviet Union and will speak of what she saw of preparations the Russians were making for the present Nazi attack.

COMMENT: According to all authorities Russian defense measures and plans have never been available to an ordinary citizen of a foreign power and not often to foreign military observers or official representatives of foreign governments even when allies in a common cause, hence one wonders just how it happens **Mrs. James** was so favored.

May 29, 1942—SEATTLE TIMES—"Major Barayev, Late, Delivers Dramatic Talk."

A theater full of Seattleites last night was treated to a performance of "The Man Who Didn't Come to Dinner" by a speaker who almost missed his engagement at the Moore Theater.

People from every section of the city and from every calling \* \* \* an eager, attentive crowd, came to hear Major Paul Barayev, assistant military attache at the Russian embassy in Washington, D. C., tell of dramatic episodes in his country's stand against the ruthless German panzer divisions.

"They Fight Our War," a dramatic script by **Mr. Roland Bradley** of Seattle, directed by **Mr. and Mrs. Burton W. James**, depicted the story of the building and destruction of the great Dneiper Dam in Russia.

June 19, 1942—DAILY WORKER—

In an article in this issue of the Daily Worker **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** is listed as one of the signers of the open letter regarding **Harry Bridges**.

August 11, 1942—SEATTLE STAR—"Many of 'U' Staff Approve Second-Front Policy."

"Complete approval of the public pledge to our national administration to open up a western European front is expressed in a communication to President Roosevelt signed by more than 60 members of the University of Washington staff." The following are represented as being among those signing the communication: **Joseph Butterworth, Giovanni Costigan, E. Harold Eby, Garland Ethel, Albert L. Franzke, Viola Garfield, Ralph Gundlach, Joseph B. Harrison, Melville Jacobs, Herbert J. Phillips and Melvin Rader**.

COMMENT: Constant appeals for a second front for Russia as being of vital importance at a time when our battle with Japan was at its lowest ebb would seem to be of some significance.

August 13, 1942—WASHINGTON NEW DEALER—

An article in this issue reveals that some sixty-three members of the University of Washington faculty and twenty youth leaders in the northwest pledged to President Roosevelt any sacrifice necessary to open a second front

in 1942. Among the signers of this petition were: **Joseph Cohen, Joseph Butterworth, Garland Ethel, Ralph Gundlach, Melvin Rader, Melville Jacobs, Harold Eby** and **Herbert J. Phillips**.

July 30, 1942—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

An article appearing in this issue of the People's World reveals that **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** wrote an article which advocated that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors take a firm stand in connection with racial discrimination. His article appeared in this paper.

January 1943—APPENDIX IX—Pages 1240 and 1255.

"Abolish the Dies Committee as a Step Toward Victory in 1943."

"I hereby join in signing the January, 1943, 'Message to the House of Representatives,' opposing renewal of the Dies Committee."

COMMENT: The names of the following Seattle people were listed: **Prof. Giovanni Costigan, Hugh DeLacy, Prof. Ralph Gundlach, Jerry O'Connell, Terry Pettus, Prof. Melvin Rader** and **Prof. Max Saville**.

NOTE: This message was initiated and sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. In App. IX, page 1222, we read, "Since its inception in June 1940, the NFCL has, perhaps been the foremost Communist Front organization in the United States." House Report No. 1311, page 47, says, "Out of 77 top ranking sponsors and leaders of the NFCL we find at least 45 who represent what is probably the most impressive aggregation of Communist talent ever assembled in a single organization throughout the long history of the Communist Party's transmission belts in this country."

The NFCL is also on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

February 8, 1943—SEATTLE TIMES—**Prof. Melvin Rader** was one of the signers of the statement, sponsored by the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, demanding abolition of the Dies Committee "As a Step Toward Victory in 1943."

February 11, 1943—SEATTLE TIMES—"War Calls Two More From 'U' Faculty."

War services have called two more University of Washington faculty members from their teaching duties, it was announced today by Dr. L. P. Sieg, President of the University. The faculty members are Brents Stirling and Garland Ethel of the English Department. Ethel will depart Sunday for Miami Beach, Florida, where he will serve as a second lieutenant with the army air forces.

August 11, 1943—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

An article in this issue of the People's World listed **Dr. Ralph Gundlach** as a delegate to the International Convention of Solidarity with the Spanish People in Mexico City, representing the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE.

October 1, 1943—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

An article in this issue of the People's World reveals that **Dr. Ralph Gundlach** and other delegates would report on the recent Convention of Solidarity with the Spanish People held in Mexico City, at a meeting of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE in Berkeley.

COMMENT: The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

October 9, 1943—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

An article in this issue of the People's World reveals that under the heading "Puerto Rican Comment of F. R. Proposals." This story had a New York dateline of October 8 and stated that the recently established Puerto Rican Freedom Committee intended to support President Roosevelt's proposals and the recommendations of Governor Tugwell regarding Puerto Rico. However, the chairman of the committee stated that the message of the President "will deeply disappoint the people of the island and those throughout the world who regard the elimination of colonization as a war aim of the United Nations." Members of the Puerto Rican Freedom Committee listed included Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** and others.

LETTERHEAD—Council for Pan-American Democracy.

This letterhead of the Council for Pan-American Democracy with offices listed at 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, New York, lists the name of **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** on its Board of Directors.

November 15, 1943—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

An article in this issue reports that **Prof. Gundlach** was a signer of a cable sent by the COUNCIL FOR PAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRACY supporting the 148 Argentine signers of a declaration for Effective Democracy and American Solidarity.

COMMENT: According to the "National Republic" issue of March 1944, page 28, the Council for Pan-American Democracy was formed for the purpose of supporting the release of Communist "political prisoners" now imprisoned in Latin and South American countries.

NOTE: The Council for Pan-American Democracy was listed by Attorney General Tom Clark as one of the subversive organizations certified to the Loyalty Board.

December 28, 1943—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

This issue carried an article announcing a Community Rally in Berkeley to save the life of Hella Vuolijoki, Finnish Woman Dramatist reported to be threatened with a death sentence by an Helsinki Court because of her "Pro United Nations Activities." **Ralph Gundlach** was listed as one of the sponsors of the meeting.

January 3, 1944—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

This issue carried a story bearing a report on the proceedings of the meeting held on behalf of Hella Vuolijoki stating that **Ralph Gundlach** served as chairman of the session. The meeting decided to send a wire to the President on behalf of Vuolijoki.

COMMENT: Hella Vuolijoki was on trial for her life for harboring a Russian parachutist.

January 6, 1944—NEW WORLD—"Outstanding Book Reviews Scheduled."

An article under the above heading reported that Marion Camozzi, manager, Frontier Bookstore, had announced **Mrs. Florence B. James** would review "The Secret of Soviet Strength."

January 13, 1944—NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World carried an article stating that **Florence Bean**

**James**, Repertory Playhouse Director, would review "The Secret of Soviet Strength" at the People's Victory Forum, Gold Room, Roosevelt Hotel, on Friday, January 14.

COMMENT: This book was written by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, author of "The Soviet Power" and the man more recently known as the "Red Dean."

February 1944—FORM LETTER—"To All Pettus for Council Workers."

The list of persons sponsoring this letter included the following: Merwin Cole, Bill Dobbins, William Pennock, Hugh DeLacy, Howard Costigan, John Caughlan, Jess Fletcher, **Burton James**, **Florence Bean James** and **Joseph Butterworth**. The latter was named as the 32nd District captain.

NEW WORLD—Articles appeared in the NEW WORLD, Seattle, Washington, Communist Party publication on the following dates: February 10 and 20, March 2 and 9 and June 6, 1944, reporting the candidacy of **Florence Bean James** for the Seattle School Board. In the March 9th issue there was an editorial urging the election of Mrs. James.

March 4, 1944—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Group Plans Refugee Aid."

Announcement of the establishment of the Seattle Chapter of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE was made yesterday by local chairman, Archie Binns, northwest author and historian.

Purpose of the nation-wide organization which has offices here at 704 Lloyd Building, is to help Anti-Fascists to escape from Nazi Europe, bring them to safety and assist them in regaining their health, explained Binns.

Listed as among sponsors of the Seattle chapter by the chairman were: James Stevens, author of the Paul Bunyan stories; Kenneth Callahan, curator of the Seattle Art Museum; Congressman John Coffee and **Mr. and Mrs. Burton James**, directors of the Seattle Repertory Playhouse.

March 9, 1944—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World carried an article announcing the establishment of the Seattle Chapter of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE and listed among the sponsors **Mr. and Mrs. Burton James**, directors of the Seattle Repertory Theater. The June 22 issue of the same paper named Mr. and Mrs. James as sponsors under the JAFRC of an "Anti-Fascist Meeting" at the Moore Theater to be held June 28, 1944.

1944—AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY—

The following is a summary of action taken by the Executive Secretaries of the University of Washington YWCA-YMCA concerning the American Youth for Democracy and information concerning this organization furnished the University YMCA-YWCA Board by Mrs. Muriel Wildman, executive secretary of the AYD.

"The American Youth for Democracy were first granted permission to use the facilities of Eagleson Hall on January 14, 1944. On March 22, 1944, the following letter was written to Miss Mary Lou McEvers, student president of the AYD:

"We have received authentic information that the AYD is the current front organization for the Communist Party and for that reason we are not in a position to grant the use of the facilities at Eagleson Hall for your organization."

Mrs. Muriel Wildman, executive secretary of the AYD in Seattle, called and asked for a conference to discuss the contents of the letter written to Miss McEvers.

A committee was appointed by the boards of the University YMCA-YWCA to consider the wisdom and fairness of our action as Executive Secretaries of Eagleson Hall.

In order to be able to consider this problem on a basis of its merit, Mr. Woodbury asked Mrs. Wildman to send him any printed material available concerning the purpose and program of the AYD. This material has been summarized for members of the committee. Excerpts from this material follow:

Regional and Local Leadership of AYD.

Northwest Regional Adult Advisors:

|                        |                                    |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Senator Thomas Rabbitt | Irving Goodman (Portland attorney) |
| Merwin Cole            | Tom Jones Perry                    |
| Mandel Nieder          | George Pampel                      |
| Mrs. Homer Foster      | Hugh DeLacy                        |
| Senator Paul Thomas    | Tom Ross                           |
| Roscoe Craycraft       | Howard Costigan                    |
| Karley Larson          | Hilda Hanson                       |

Adult Officers of Seattle AYD:

Chairman: Charles Meyers.

Vice-chairman: William Pennock and Del Castle.

Secretary: Aneta Dobbins.

Ex. Secretary: Mrs. Muriel Wildman.

Leaders Student Chapter of AYD at University of Washington:

Miss Mary Lou McEvers, President.

Faculty Advisor: **Prof. Harold Eby**.

COMMENT: "Los Angeles Fire and Protective League News"—April 22, 1948—American Youth For Democracy—

"This is a major Communist Front and is the direct successor through a special convention in New York in October 1943 to the Young Communist League.

"The 1948 report of the Tenney Committee contains eight pages of factual documentation of the Communist character of AYD and of those who endorse, sponsor, support and join it.

"The 4th report of the Joint Fact-finding Committee to the 1948 regular California legislature on page 370 says, "The AYD is the official successor to the Young Communist League. It has been the subject of a report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which described its character in detail. It's 'sinister purposes' have been denounced by the director of the FBI." (Congressional Record, March 24, 1947, page A1298).

May 1, 1944—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

This issue of the People's World carried a story bearing a Berkeley date line stating that Marietta Voge, Yugo-Slav Partisan, will speak on "A People Forged Their Freedom" on May 1, at the Town and Gown Club, Berkeley, under the auspices of the Oakland chapter of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE. The item stated that **Ralph Gundlach** would serve as chairman.

May 12, 1944—PEOPLE'S WORLD—

In the column of Jane Gilbert, called, "Meet the People Around the Bay," the following item appeared: "New member of the staff of the California Labor School is **Dr. Randolph Gundlach**, Psychology Professor at the University of California. He is an authority on race relations."

COMMENT: The California Labor School, organized in the summer of 1942 as the Tom Mooney Labor School, was planned, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party. It is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

June 15, 1944—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"DeLacy's Campaign Quarters Opened."

The campaign committee is under the co-chairmanship of State Senator Thomas Rabbitt, Merwin Cole, secretary-treasurer of the BSEU, and **Florence Bean James**, director of the Repertory Playhouse.

**Prof. Gundlach** was a sponsor of the "Teacher's For DeLacy For Congress Committee" in 1944, and in the NEW WORLD of December 21, 1944, he was listed as a member of the committee to investigate possibilities of an educational program in the labor movement.

July 6, 1944—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World carries an article announcing the WOMEN'S COMMITTEE BACKING HUGH DELACY. **Mrs. Florence B. James** is listed as heading this committee.

October 3, 1944—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Women OK Hugh DeLacy."

This article reported that **Mrs. Florence Bean James** was among those signing the statement which, besides endorsing DeLacy's campaign and candidacy declared, that "a vote for Harlin is a vote for a congress led by isolationists, appeasers and pro-Fascists in whom thoughtful Democrats and Republicans alike have lost confidence."

COMMENT: During the State of Washington Un-American Activities Committee hearing Jan. 27 to Feb. 5, 1948 inclusive, thirteen different witnesses testified under oath as to Hugh DeLacy's membership and activities in the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

December 4, 1944—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article in this issue of the P.-I. reported that **Mrs. Florence Bean James** was on the Speaker's Bureau of RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF which is a part of the AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS.

COMMENT: The American Council On Soviet Relations was named as a Communist Front organization by Attorney General Biddle, Congressional Record of Sept. 24, 1942, page 7688; by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives on March 29, 1944, and it is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

January 4, 1945—NEW WORLD—"Dinner Honoring Paul Robeson." Sponsored by Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Council on African Affairs.

COMMENT: **Mrs. Burton James**, **Professor Joseph Harrison** and **Prof. Melvin Rader** are listed as sponsors of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the JAFRC and **Mrs. James** was among those listed as attending the dinner mentioned above. **Mr. Burton James** is also listed as a sponsor.

January 14, 1945—PROGRAM—Seattle Labor School.

First Term Schedule of Classes for the Seattle Labor School, Central School, 7th and Madison, Course No. 201—European Politics Today, taught by **Professor Herbert J. Phillips**.

COMMENT: The Seattle Labor School or NORTHWEST LABOR SCHOOL as it is now called, is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

1945—LETTERHEAD—JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE.

The names of **Florence Bean James**, **Ralph Gundlach**, **Joseph Harrison** and **Melvin Rader** appear on the list of sponsors.

January 25, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue of the New World reports **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** as chairman of the board of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE.

COMMENT: Edward Barsky, National Chairman of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the JAFRC has 19 listings in App. IX. He has been convicted, fined and sentenced for contempt of Congress. He admitted that the JAFRC gave money regularly to Gerhart Eisler.

April 8, 1945—POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Anti-Fascist Group Will Meet."

The first of a series of three forum sessions, sponsored by the JAFRC, will be held at 8 o'clock Wednesday in the Gold Room of the Roosevelt Hotel on the subject "As Spain Goes, So Goes the World."

**Professor Joseph Harrison** of the English department of the University of Washington will be chairman.

COMMENT: June 14, 1948—P.-I.—High Court Upholds Contempt Sentences. Washington, June 14—The U. S. Supreme Court in effect today upheld the contempt conviction of 16 members of the JAFRC which refused to turn over its records to Congress. Eleven of the committeemen were fined \$500 last year and sentenced to from three months to six months in jail. Their appeal contended that the House Un-American Activities Committee, which sought to probe charges of Communism and misuse of funds, was an unconstitutional body.

NOTE: The report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, 79th Congress, June 7, 1946, pages 37, 38, gives the following information.

In addition to the national office, located at 192 Lexington Ave., New York City, the organization (JAFRC) maintains branches—one of the most prominent being located in the Lloyd Bldg., in Seattle, Washington. On April 9, 1945, an investigator made the following report. (Excerpts from which are printed below):

"A meeting was held in the Gold Room of the Roosevelt Hotel Sunday, March 25, 1945, presided over by **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** of the University of Washington. This was a select meeting of Communists of the high bracket of the Communist Party and the purpose of the meeting was to plan how to raise money to aid the Spanish Revolution which is to start in June. The meeting was ostensibly held under the auspices of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE. **Professor Gundlach** advised that a local office under this name had been opened at the Lloyd Bldg. and two full time employees hired. **Professor Gundlach** stated also that the group would not talk openly about the aid for the Spanish Republicans in a movement to resume the war but would secure \$50,000 ostensibly for the purpose of aiding the Spanish



refugees now in southwestern France. The organization has registered with the State Department under the name of the UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMISSION with headquarters in Boston. The Quaker organization of Friends Service Bureau has done a great deal of relief and the UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMISSION would be joined in the drive of the new organization to be incorporated and known as the FRIENDS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE. Thus in soliciting money they would speak of 'Friends' and then of the 'Service Commission,' thus capitalizing upon the good name and reputation of the Quaker organization, Friends Service Commission."

The \$50,000 would have to be raised among the moneyed people by holding cocktail parties at "elegant" homes. Professor Gundlach advised that his apartment was not adequate for holding cocktail parties but that he would personally match receipts of the most successful cocktail party held.

In connection with this subject, an item appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer under date of April 8, 1945. \* \* \* (NOTE: This article precedes the present one in this document.)

Under date of April 12, 1945, there appeared in the Seattle Star the following article: Spanish Vets to Meet. Seattle VETERANS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE, who fought with the Spanish Loyalists, will meet Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at 209 B. 9th Ave., Apt. 131. The purpose of the meeting is to aid in raising the \$750,000 goal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, it was stated.

One of the methods used by the JAFRC to raise money (this particular group), is described as follows:

The JAFRC, a nonpolitical national relief organization, registered with the President's War Relief organization, is conducting a special drive to raise \$750,000 within the next few months for immediate aid to the Spanish Republicans in France. These almost forgotten people were the first valiant fighters against Fascism. When Republican Spain fell under the crushing weight of Franco's forces, nearly half a million Spanish Republicans fled to France. It is for the 150,000 of them who still live that the Spanish Refugee Appeal, with its \$750,000 goal, has been organized. Our committee has a major responsibility in the care of these people.

COMMENT: "After reading the memo which sets forth the real objective and the purpose for which the money is really being raised and then the published objective as above quoted, it is easy to see that here again the Communist movement takes a worthy objective to promote their subtle revolutionary cause."

"On May 22, 1945, this group conducted an art auction in the Spanish Ballroom of the Olympic Hotel. About 150 persons were present. **Mrs. Ralph Gundlach** introduced the auctioneer, Mr. Louis Greenfield. Mr. Greenfield said that in New York he had auctioned \$10,000 worth of paintings for the committee at the request of Moss Hart, the play producer. During the auction, Mr. Greenfield spoke often of the wonderful work of the committee, and said it was worthy of money donations. In about one half hour, four or five pictures received no bids, those which were sold went for from \$15 to \$35. This meeting appeared to have been under the direction of **Mrs. Burton James**. Other hostesses were **Mrs. Gundlach**, **Gertrude B. Huff** and Mrs. Paul Hayden Kirk."

"On May 25, 1945, the society column of the Seattle Times carried the following article: 'Fifteen hundred dollars will be sent for the relief, medical

care and rehabilitation of Spanish Republicans, refugees in Mexico, where there are 15,000 to 20,000; in France, 150,000 and North Africa, 30,000 to 50,000, as a result of the art auction sponsored by the Seattle Chapter of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE. Bidding was brisk for the 100 pictures and art objects donated by outstanding northwestern, California, and eastern artists. Some of the liveliest offers to come under the hammer of Lou Greenfield and his assistant, Joe L. Woolfe, vice-chairman of the board of the organization, were for the architectural services of Chiarellie & Kirk to prepare the preliminary designs of a post war home, which went to Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Huff, and for an appointment for a portrait sitting with Emily Morse, sculptress and portrait painter, which went to Mr. Howard Smith.

"Pable O'Higgins, well known for his lithographs in the U. S. and for his murals in Mexico, where he went in 1924 to study under Diego Riviera, was one of the interesting persons in the audience of 300."

January 25, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—"To Attend Inquest."

**Florence Bean James**, Mary Bettinger, Emma Simms, Mrs. Farling Clara Wheeler and Molly Higman were designated to represent the Washington Pension Union at the coroner's inquest of the brutal slaying of a 16-year-old boy in the King County jail.

COMMENT: During the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee hearing held Jan. 27 to Feb. 5, 1948 inclusive, the Pension Union was identified as a completely Communist led and dominated organization which has followed the Communist Party Line through its varying phases since before the Stalin-Hitler non-aggression pact.

January 27, 1945—PEOPLE'S WORLD—San Francisco, California.

An article in this issue entitled "Bridges Supported," advised that the "Citizenship for Harry Bridges" campaign had gained momentum in key sections of the country. **Florence Bean James**, a co-director of the Seattle Repertory Playhouse, according to this article, had taken over the direction of activities in the Seattle area.

March 8, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World contained an advertisement entitled "People's Victory Forum," and the advertisement stated that **Florence Bean James** would review the book "Soviet Spirit," by Harry Ward on March 11, 1945.

March 15, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue of the New World announces the petition for dismissal of deportation charges against Harry Bridges. **Mrs. Florence B. James** was listed as one of the signers of this petition.

May 3, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue announced that there would be held a regular Sunday afternoon Pension Union mass meeting at which **Prof. Harold Eby** and Floyd C. Miller would discuss the results of a San Francisco conference. The meeting was scheduled for May 6, 1945 in the Building Service Employees Union Hall.



### COMMUNIST PARTY LINE Since End of Hostilities

Following the surrender of Germany on May 7 and of Japan on September 2, 1945, we find that the Communist Party has advocated, among other objectives, the following:

1. Immediate return of United States troops from China, the Philippines and everywhere excepting Germany and Japan. During late months they have been advocating the evacuation of troops from Berlin.
2. United Nations Security Council action with American support against the Franco regime in Spain.
3. Anti-Selective Service and compulsory military training; advocate demilitarization and disarmament.
4. Anti-Byrnes, Vandenburg and Marshall Plan with United Nations control of any European aid.
5. Stop production of atom bombs and share the know how with the rest of the world. Have recently advocated the destruction of present stockpiles and have consistently been in favor of civilian control.
6. Government ownership and control of armament works and the production of all war materials.
7. Constant support and praise of Henry Wallace in his stand against United States foreign policy and for letting Russia have her way in Europe and Asia.

### Activities and Affiliations Since End of Hostilities

September 27, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—"Call Conference to Form Labor School."

Signers of the conference invitation include **Professor Albert L. Franzke**.

October 18, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—Seek Suggestions for Seattle Labor School.

"On the problem of school headquarters, we want every one's opinion and suggestions," Prof. Albert Franzke, chairman of the continuation committee, said at the meeting last week.

November 2, 1945—LETTERHEAD—Spanish Refugee Appeal of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE.

A letterhead of the above named organization of this date lists among its Seattle sponsors the following: **Mr. and Mrs. Burton James, Professors Carlos Garcia Prada, Allen Benham, Joseph Harrison, George F. McKay, Melvin Rader, and Mrs. Joseph Harrison.**

November 29, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—"Dr. Franzke Heads Labor School."

An article in this issue reveals that **Dr. Albert Franzke**, University of Washington, was elected chairman of the executive committee of the Seattle Labor School at a meeting of the Board of Directors.

December 20, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—Registration Now Open For Labor School. Schedule of Classes. Course 105—Wednesdays—World Labor Movements by **Prof. Harold Eby**.

December 27, 1945—THE NEW WORLD—

In this issue of the New World there is a picture of **Mrs. James** under the caption "What Promises to Be One of the Most Popular Courses at The Seattle Labor School is the THEATER WORK SHOP CLASS conducted by Florence Bean James, director Repertory Playhouse and Bonnie Bird Gundlach."

COMMENT: The Seattle Labor School is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

January 3, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—"Labor School Names Board of Advisors."

Members announced were: J. S. Richards, **Dr. Emil Palmquist**, Ray Kidwiler, Wayne Dick, John King, Dr. Harvard Kaufman, Alfred Rochester, Jerry Simpson, **Prof. Richard Tyler, Prof. Joseph Harrison, Prof. Angelo Pellegrini**, Harold Sparkman and **Prof. Harold Eby**.

January 17, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue of the New World announces that "Organized labor in Seattle added another chapter to its great history this week with the opening of the Seattle Labor School on Monday, January 14." The Seattle Repertory Playhouse is listed as an affiliate of the Seattle Labor School. Dr. Albert Franzke is chairman.

January 21, 1946—LETTERHEAD—Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee lists **Prof. Joseph Harrison** as one of the Seattle sponsors.

February 7, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue tells about the LENIN MEMORIAL MASS MEETING and the dinner honoring Ben Davis, Jr., New York City Councilman and member of the National Board of the Communist Party. Among those listed as attending this dinner was **Mrs. Florence Bean James** and **Professor Ralph H. Gundlach**.

COMMENT: The July 7, 1948 issue of the Seattle Times printed the following article: "New York Leftists Object to Prayer."

New York, July 7—"A prayer caused a flurry of dispute in New York's City Council yesterday. Two councilmen, Benjamin J. Davis, Manhattan Communist and Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party member, protested the inclusion of the invocation prayer in the minutes of the council meeting.

"In the prayer, the Rev. Dr. George Albert Simons, 74-year-old Methodist pastor, had expressed hope that 'atheistic Marxist Communism' never would threaten New York City.

"The council voted 14 to 2 to include the prayer in the record."

NOTE: Mr. Davis, along with eleven other national officers of the Communist Party, was indicted on July 20 by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on charges of advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

February 14, 1946—SEATTLE TIMES—

An article in this issue advises that **Professor Joseph Harrison** appears as a member of the Board of Advisors of the Seattle Labor School and that **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** is on the Board of Directors.

February 15, 1946—POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Labor School Seeks Funds."

"The Rev. Allan Lorimer asked if the teaching staff includes Communists and whether Communism is taught openly or covertly. **Gundlach**, a director of the Labor School parried the question with a discussion on the definition and meaning of words. He said he thought Communist and Communism were being too frequently used as 'smear words.'

"When the Rev. Lorimer repeated his question, Prof. Gundlach replied, 'If you mean covertly, I would not know, of course.' 'Isn't the answer, certainly not,' volunteered **Professor Joseph Harrison** of the U. of W. who presided in the absence of J. S. Richards. 'Yes,' said Gundlach, 'That is the answer—certainly not.'

"**Albert Franzke**, University of Washington professor and chairman of the school's board of directors, denounced references of Communism in connection with the school as smear propaganda. Virtually all progressive movements he declared are smeared by those lacking a liberal point of view.

"The discussion involving Communism was prompted by the recent resignation of four members of the school's advisory board and one of the directors."

March 7, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue of the New World announces the Seattle Repertory Playhouse is producing the play "Decision" which was written by Chodorov.

COMMENT: Chodorov is a member of the National Board of the JAFRC as shown on their letterhead.

March 7, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World carries an endorsement of the Rev. F. Benjamin Davis' candidacy for City Council by, among others, **Mrs. Florence Bean James**.

March 9, 1946—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"James Roosevelt to Be Seattle Visitor."

James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President Roosevelt, will be a Seattle visitor March 28 and 29th, it was announced yesterday. He is political advisor of the INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS, and will help form a Seattle branch of the organization, it was announced by **Prof. Richard G. Tyler** of the University of Washington.

March 14, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

One article in this issue revealed that **Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach** is a member of the Board of the JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE.

A second article in the same issue announces that **Florence Bean James** has been elected a member of the Board of Trustees of the JAFRC.

March 19, 1946—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"James Roosevelt to Speak Here."

James Roosevelt, eldest son of the late President Roosevelt, will speak in Seattle Thursday, March 28th, under the auspices of the ICCASP, it was announced by George Pepper, organizer for the committee.

Pepper, former executive director of the Hollywood ICCASP will spearhead the drive of the newly formed committee in four Pacific Northwest States. Permanent northwest headquarters will be established in Seattle, he said.

March 1946—LETTERHEAD—"INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS."

Members of the Executive Board and sponsors of the ICCASP, Northwest division, as taken from the letterhead, include the following:

|                           |                             |                              |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Rev. Josiah Bartlett      | <b>Prof. Viola Garfield</b> | <b>Prof. Joseph Harrison</b> |
| Rev. F. Benjamin Davis    | <b>Prof. Ralph Gundlach</b> | <b>Prof. Albert Franzke</b>  |
| Rabbi Franklin Cohn       | <b>Pro. Linden Mander</b>   | <b>Prof. Richard Tyler</b>   |
| <b>Albert Ottenheimer</b> | <b>Prof. Harold Eby</b>     | <b>Prof. Melvin Rader</b>    |

COMMENT: The 4th report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 Regular California Legislature says: "The ICCASP has been charged with being Communist dominated by Harold Ickes and other liberals who previously had supported it. It was cited as a Communist Front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Sept. 2, 1947. The ICCASP split following its denunciation by Ickes and other liberals. The pro-Communist section, after the split, formed the Progressive Citizens of America. The PCA was cited as a Communist Front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report of June 12, 1947."

March 13, 1948—P.-I.—"DeLacy Fooled Me," says James Roosevelt. Attacks Third Party Move.

An excerpt from this article reads as follows: "The eldest son of the late President Roosevelt revealed that he had resigned from ICCASP because it had turned into an organization 'committed to follow the dictatorship of Communist Russia.'"

March 21, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—"Sponsors of WIN-THE-PEACE."

Among the University professors listed in this article as sponsors of Win-the-Peace were the following:

|                           |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Maude L. Beal</b>      | <b>Joseph Butterworth</b> | <b>Harold Eby</b>          |
| <b>Albert Franzke</b>     | <b>Viola Garfield</b>     | <b>Ralph H. Gundlach</b>   |
| <b>Joseph B. Harrison</b> | <b>Melville Jacobs</b>    | <b>Herbert J. Phillips</b> |
| <b>Melvin Rader</b>       | <b>Angelo Pellegrini</b>  |                            |

Among those outside the University staff who sponsored this organization were **Florence and Burton James** and **Albert Ottenheimer**. **Hugh DeLacy** is listed as national chairman of the movement.

COMMENT: The Win-the-Peace Conference is cited as a Communist Front organization on page 14 of House Report No. 1115, printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 2, 1947, 80th Congress, 1st session.

The National Committee to WIN-THE-PEACE is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

March 28, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World carries an announcement to the effect that **Mrs. Florence B. James** will teach a course in the Northwest Labor School during the new term.

Among other teachers listed were: **Ralph Gundlach**, **H. J. Phillips**, **Albert Ottenheimer**, **Harold Eby** and **Viola Garfield**.

March 29, 1946—INVITATION—Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions.

This invitation for March 29, 1946 is to a dinner for the ICCASP. Members of the Executive Board and sponsors of the ICCASP as taken from the invita-

tion include: **Mrs. Burton James, Joseph Harrison, George McKay, Richard Tyler, Viola Garfield, Melvin Rader, Rev. F. Benjamin Davis and Harold Eby.**

1946—LETTERHEAD—"Teachers for DeLacy for Congress Committee."

**Prof. H. J. Phillips** is listed as chairman. **Professors Joseph Butterworth and Joseph Harrison** also have their names on the list as members of the committee.

1946—BOOKLET—"Our Representative."

This booklet was prepared and paid for by the friends of Congressman Hugh DeLacy. Among the names of those listed on the back of this booklet are those of **Prof. R. G. Tyler, Noel Schram and Harold Eby.**

Catalog—SEATTLE LABOR SCHOOL—1st Term—1946—Central School 7th & Madison.

Some of the members of the Board of Advisors as listed herein are: **Prof. Joseph Harrison, Harold Eby, Angelo Pellegrini, Richard G. Tyler, Lloyd W. Schram and Burton W. James.**

Members of the Board of Directors are: **Prof. Albert L. Franzke**, chairman; Paul Manning, secretary-treasurer; Mervin Cole, **Ralph Gundlach**, Hilda Hanson, Fred Carlson, Del Castle, R. O. Powell, Robert Glynn, L. E. Ozbourne, Mabel Sundberg, Jerry Tyler, Herman Ott, V. Price, Betty Smith, Grace Stevenson, Barbara Kahn and Ray Kidwiler.

Among the instructors listed were: **Florence B. James, Ralph Gundlach, Prof. L. L. McCrery, Harold Eby, Viola Garfield, H. J. Phillips, Mrs. Ethel Kastner, Dr. Louise Heathers and Albert Ottenheimer.**

April 11, 1946—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

An article announcing the DeLacy Campaign Committee of which **Mrs. Florence Bean James** was a member was carried in the April 11th issue of the P.-I.

April 18, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

The April 18 issue of the New World printed a picture on page one of the delegation filing for Hugh DeLacy in Olympia. **Mrs. Florence James** is one of the persons readily recognizable in this picture.

May 9, 1946—OPEN LETTER—

Included in this letter was the following: "The Seattle Labor School is sponsoring a night at the Repertory Playhouse on June 16, 1946, to see their thrilling melodrama, "Bertha—The Sewing Machine Girl." \* \* \* **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** is Educational Committee Chairman of the Seattle Labor School.

May 30, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—

An article in this issue tells of the election of **Prof. Joseph Harrison** to the chairmanship of the local chapter of the ICCASP.

**Mrs. Florence B. James** is listed as being a board member of the ICCASP.

Another article in this same issue of the New World announces the candidacy of **Mrs. Florence B. James** for State Senator from the 43rd District and that she is endorsed by the CIO-PAC.

June 6, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—"Florence B. James Will Speak Sunday."

**Mrs. James** will speak at the regular Sunday afternoon Pension Union mass meeting, June 9, 1946, in behalf of her candidacy for the Washington State Senate from the 43rd district.

June 20, 1946—DINNER INVITATION—Dinner of rededication to the principles of FDR and Wilkie under the auspices of the ICCASP to be held at the Meany Hotel. **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** is a member of the Northwest Executive Board of this Communist Front Organization as well as **Prof. Albert Franzke, Prof. Harold Eby, Prof. Joseph Harrison, Prof. R. G. Tyler, Prof. Melvin Rader, Prof. Viola Garfield, Rev. F. Benjamin Davis, Albert Ottenheimer and Mr. and Mrs. Burton James.**

July 6, 1946—LETTERHEAD—Spanish Refugee Appeal of the JAFRC.

This letter dated as above and signed by Edward Barsky as national chairman, lists **Ralph Gundlach** as one of the national sponsors of the organization.

September 26, 1946—THE NEW WORLD—Labor School Schedule of Classes: University of Washington professors listed as teachers at the Labor School on this schedule include: **Professors Herbert Phillips, Ralph Gundlach and Harold Eby.**

The following is a letter written on the letterhead of the NORTHWEST SPONSORING COMMITTEE CONFERENCE ON CHINA AND THE FAR EAST, 512 Mutual Life Bldg., Seattle.

"Dear Friend:

"We are writing to you as one of the community leaders in the Pacific Northwest, to send you a copy of a call to an important conference on China and the Far East to be held in San Francisco on October 18-20. Certainly every public spirited American is today deeply alarmed at our policy in the Far East, at the actual encouragement that American Foreign Policy is giving to those forces which are anxious to see widespread Civil War in China, at our obstructing and oppressing the forces of national liberation throughout the Orient. A responsibility rests upon each of us to aid in bringing our governments' policy back to the promoting instead of the hindering of international unity for peace and of cooperation with democratic forces in that theatre. The removal of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce throws into sharpest focus the necessity of having at this time the widest discussion and debate on our foreign policy.

"We are hopeful that after reading the enclosed call you will join us in adding your name as one who endorses the San Francisco Conference. And we are also hopeful that you will accept our invitation to meet with us on Saturday afternoon, October 12, at the Mirror Room in the Gowman Hotel at 2 p. m. where we will choose delegates to represent the Northwest Sponsoring Committee at San Francisco.

"We are indeed fortunate to be able to inform you that Paul Robeson, co-chairman of the National Win-the-Peace, and Bartley Crum, a member of the Anglo-American Committee on Jewish Problems appointed by the President, will meet with us on the afternoon of October 12 to discuss the conference and bring us news of what other groups throughout the country are doing on this issue."

COMMENT: Among the names listed on this letter as being members of the NORTHWEST SPONSORING COMMITTEE were those of the Rev. F. Benjamin Davis, **Richard Tyler**, and **Prof. Melvin Rader. Mr.**

**Albert Ottenheimer** represented the Repertory Playhouse at the Oct. 12 meeting.

NOTE: The 4th report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 Regular California Legislature has this to say about the China Arrangements Conference Committee: pages 197-198. "This front was organized primarily to bring pressure to bear on the Truman administration to remove troops from China so that the Chinese Communists would be given a free hand against Chiang Kai-Shek. \* \* \*

"The Communist Party Line shifted after V-J Day and all existing Communist Fronts started pressure on the administration in reference to its foreign policy both in China and Central Europe in order to clear the way for Soviet expansion. The China Conference Arrangements Committee, the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and the Committee to Win-the-Peace were new fronts in this field."

January 2, 1947—THE NEW WORLD—Announcing New Names; Open House; New Term and New Address of 309 2nd Ave. N.

Officers listed included: **Prof. Albert L. Franzke**, chairman; Paul Manning, secretary; **Dr. Ralph Gundlach**, chairman educational committee and Bert McLeach, educational director.

Teachers for this term included: **Ralph Gundlach, H. J. Phillips, Florence B. James** and Tom Rabbitt.

March 23, 1947—NORTHWEST LABOR SCHOOL—Schedule of Classes for the Spring term includes the course, "Facts Behind the News," taught by **Albert Ottenheimer**.

March 24, 1947—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Wallgren Hit On Pension Act."

Failure of Governor Mon C. Wallgren to veto SGB 396 and 397 relating to social security was attacked yesterday by the King-Kitsap County Unit of PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA.

The committee pledged its support to the Washington Pension Union in its intention to appeal to the supreme court seeking the right to launch a referendum against the two substitute house bills.

President Truman's policy toward Greece and Turkey and Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach's anti-Communist statements also were condemned by the group which met in Seattle.

"President Truman's message to congress heads the country toward war," a statement issued by the committee read. "It announces the end of an American policy based on one world and presents a policy in which he divides the world into two camps."

The committee also stated: "Believing that civil and political rights and freedoms are the foundation of democracy, we resent and oppose the proposal by Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach to deny these freedoms and these rights to the Communist Party."

Elected to a temporary executive committee, pending establishment of a representative assembly were:

**Prof. Melvin Rader, Prof. Albert Franzke, Ward Coley, the Rev. F. Benjamin Davis, Saul Kessler, Mrs. Nora McCoy, Mrs. Florence B. James, Jerry O'Connell, Albert Ottenheimer, Charles Jensen, Fred Berry, Barton Hamilton, Carl Brooks, Jerry Tyler, John Forrest, Joseph Holder, Dan Mahoney, Etta**

Tripp, John Wiggen, Charles Herwig, Dr. Harry Blackford, Leonard Beardsley, Tom Jones Parry, Paul Manning, Eddy Friel, Joseph Woolfe, Sid Gerber, Mrs. A. Fletcher Booth, Ray Glover, Mrs. Hazel Johnson and Mrs. Samuel Walters.

April 17, 1947—THE NEW WORLD—

This issue of the New World ran an advertisement entitled "Forum Night," which reported that **Florence Bean James** on April 20, 1947, would talk on "The Russian Theater" at the Seattle Labor School (Northwest Labor School), 309 2nd Ave. N.

April 18, 1947—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"New Progressive Citizens of America Club Organized."

Organization of a PCA club in the 37th district was announced yesterday. Jack Steinberg was named chairman. Others elected were Rev. F. Benjamin Davis, vicechairman; Mrs. Edna Carithers, executive secretary and Mrs. Dorothy Doss, recording secretary.

A number of resolutions were adopted at the club's initial meeting, one of which condemned the naming of the legislature's Un-American Activities Committee. Another placed the club on record against military aid to Greece and Turkey.

COMMENT: **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** attended the organizational meeting.

April 24, 1947—SEATTLE STAR—"Wallace Gets Backing Here."

The Seattle chapter of Progressive Citizens of America today announced that more than 100 persons in this state had joined in sending a cablegram to Henry A. Wallace, commending his European speaking tour and opposition to Truman foreign policy.

April 28, 1947—SEATTLE LABOR SCHOOL NEWS—"Russian Theater Forum."

This article reported as follows: That the theater and most other branches of the fine arts are highly developed in the Soviet Union, out of all comparison with their low level in the U.S.A., and that the cultivation of the arts helps solve vital social problems was told by **Florence Bean James** to a Labor Forum audience in the school auditorium on Sunday night, April 20.

"Mrs. James, director of the Repertory Playhouse, visited the Soviet Union and many other European countries, investigating art conditions everywhere. Her disclosures are those of an expert.

"She says that in Soviet Russia artists are more highly esteemed than anywhere else in the world. Their works are made accessible to everybody. Backward tribes, which did not have a written language before the Revolution, have been supplied with alphabets and they are now reading Shakespeare in their native tongues.

"She was astonished to find out that Erivan, the capitol of Armenia, was a greater art center than any city in the United States. Little Armenia has in recent decades produced 36 operas against only 6 produced in the United States.

"Unlike this country where talent development is dependent upon luck and accident, in the Soviet whenever a gifted person is detected the government immediately assumes all the cost of his education and living in order that the people may enjoy the fruit of his creation. Art in the U.S.S.R. is not a commodity for someone's enrichment, but a part of their life. All the people indulge in artistic expression and their outstanding

"Mrs. James says that art is very important to our happiness. She calls it, 'The distillation of the people's thinking.' The Soviets have no juvenile delinquency problem, she asserts, because their children are being trained in the artistic expression of their emotions."

May 16, 1947—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Wallace Sponsoring Committee."

Mrs. Florence B. James is listed in this article as a member of this committee.

May 16, 1947—SEATTLE TIMES—"Wallace Will Talk In Seattle."

Members of the Wallace Sponsoring Committee were announced. **Prof. Melvin Rader** and **Prof. Ralph Gundlach** were listed as members of this committee.

May 23, 1947—SEATTLE TIMES—"Wallace Will Talk In Seattle."

Former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace will address a public meeting at 8 o'clock next Friday night in the Field Artillery Armory, it was announced today by the Wallace Sponsoring Committee.

The announcement said the committee is composed of "prominent northwest citizens."

Efforts also were being made to arrange for Wallace's appearance at noon of the same day before an open air meeting in front of Eagleson Hall, 1417 E. 42nd St.

Members of the Wallace Sponsoring Committee were announced as: Dr. Harry Blackford, Jack Cluck, John Coffee, Fred B. Cohen, **Prof. Herbert Densmore**, J. N. Erlandson, Edward Freil, Alice Fessenden, Glen Fish, Capt. John Fox, Sidney Gerber, **Dr. Ralph Gundlach**, Dr. A. Bernard Gray, **Prof. J. R. Hubert**, Edward Henry, Francis Herring, **Florence Bean James**, **Saul Kessler**, Paul Manning, Al Murray, Gertrude Nafe, Mandel Nieder, Dr. Richard Nelson, Jerry O'Connell, William Pennock, **Prof. Melvin Rader**, Arthur Snow, **Prof. Ralph Thayer**, Jerry Tyler, **Prof. Richard G. Tyler**, Max Wedekind, John Wigen and Letcher Yarborough.

September 1, 1947—TIMES HERALD—Washington, D. C. "Progressive Citizens' Group Linked to Commie Front Bloc."

"The Progressive Citizens of America, would be springboard for Henry Wallace's bid for the presidency of the United States has been tagged a red front organization, this newspaper learned last night. The disclosure came through a maze of interlocking memberships of 22 of its top officers with known Communist Groups.

"Leaders of this new pioneer group for formation of a People's Mass party have been familiar names in American professional and artistic fields for many years. Together, 22 of the leaders hold, or have held, almost 500 memberships in Communist sympathetic groups.

"The P.C.A. was formed in New York on December 29, 1946, when officers of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the ICCASP decided to rejuvenate their tried and true policies under a new banner.

"Last March 31, the P.C.A. held a 'crisis' meeting in Madison Square Garden before a full house. During this meeting Wallace expressed clearly that he was the candidate of the Communists for the Presidency in 1948. Shortly afterward he made a tour of Europe. His speeches overseas followed the Kremlin line without a break. Following his return to this country the

former vice-president made another tour, sponsored and listened to mainly by P.C.A. members.

1947—THE NEW WORLD—The Prospectus For the Spring Term of the Pacific Northwest Labor School lists among teachers: **Herbert J. Phillips**—Course 220—"What Is Philosophy."

1947—PROGRAM—"Pacific Northwest Labor School."

This program advised that on June 8, 1947, at 3:00 p. m. the School would have a graduation potlatch. There was to be a presentation of diplomas, music, dancing, food and drinks. The program stated Al Ottenheimer was to be master of ceremonies and that the meeting was to be held at the home of **Professor and Mrs. Albert Franzke** at 2571 W. Montlake Pl.

1947—THE NEW WORLD—No. 47—"Building the New World."

A Sunday breakfast at **Bonnie and Ralph Gundlach's** netted \$78.03 for the drive.

COMMENT: The New World was identified in a previous hearing by the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee as the official organ of the Communist Party and the Communist dominated Pension Union in this region.

1947—THE NEW WORLD—No. 40—Labor School Fall Schedule.

Listed on this schedule was a course entitled "Post War Developments in Europe and Asia," **Albert Ottenheimer**, News Analyst. Background for an up to the minute understanding of vital new people's movements and the problems they face.

October 2, 1947—THE NEW WORLD—"Every Reader Get a Reader."

During the past week the following New World Boosters obtained new readers: Among the names listed was that of **Joe Butterworth**.

October 12, 1947—"Civil Rights Congress"—"Meets At Repertory."—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—

Carl Marzani, of Washington, D. C., traveling under auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, will speak at a meeting of the Washington State Pension Union at 2 o'clock this afternoon at 2221 3rd Ave.

Marzani also will speak in the Repertory Playhouse at 8 o'clock tonight. The latter meeting will be sponsored by the Civil Rights C., the Union Bay Village Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America and the social workers' division of the United Office & Professional Workers of America.

COMMENT: The Civil Rights Congress is on Attorney General Tom Clark's list of subversive organizations.

The 4th report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Regular 1948 California Legislature reveals the following on page 122: "The Civil Rights Congress is the successor of the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party. The House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report on Sept. 2, 1947, described the Civil Rights Congress as 'dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party.' This congress is now defending such persons as Gerhart Eisler, agent of the Communist International, convicted of contempt of Congress."

November 17, 1947—SEATTLE TIMES—"Fast Rogge Cocktail Party."

Fast Rogge Cocktail Party honoring Mr. Howard Fast, American novelist and Mr. O. John Rogge, former assistant attorney general of the United States. Dr. and Mrs. A. Bernard Gray entertained at cocktails Thursday evening. Guests at the party included **Prof. and Mrs. Ralph Gundlach**.

COMMENT: Rogge, during the spring of 1947, defended 16 executive board members of the JAFRC on charges of contempt of congress. They were convicted as has been told previously. Howard Fast was one of the JAFRC members convicted.

Howard Fast has 3 listings in App. IX and is one of the national sponsors of the AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY which organization grew out of the YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, both of which are listed as subversive organizations.

January 26, 1948—SEATTLE TIMES—"Group Forms to Fight Probers."

Approximately 100 persons met here yesterday to form the Washington Citizens Bill of Rights Committee, for the purpose of combatting by all legal and political means forces leading assaults on the American Bill of Rights under the guise of "investigating so-called subversive activities."

The group will represent labor, pension, professional and community groups, **Mrs. Florence Bean James**, temporary chairman, said.

Mrs. James said one purpose is to take "counter action against the threat of democratic rights represented by the Canwell Committee (the legislature's Un-American Activities Committee).

"The Committee's statements to date," said Mrs. James, "indicate that far from being an impartial committee it really is acting as judge, prosecutor and jury. It does not intend to give the pensioners' organization a day in court but has found it guilty in advance."

Mrs. James accused the committee of "trying to intimidate pensioners and others from using their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech and association."

Other temporary officers elected were **Dr. Herbert J. Phillips**, Vice Chairman; Ray Campbell, Treasurer and **Hallie Donaldson**, Secretary. All are of Seattle.

April 1, 1948—THE NEW WORLD—Precinct Leaders Parade to Wallace.

Joining the big parade of Democratic precinct committeemen into the NEW PARTY—PROGRESSIVE PARTY—headed by Henry A. Wallace, nineteen members of the 37th and eight members of the 32nd District precinct organizations resigned en masse this week. Among those 32nd District resignations were those of **Herbert J. Phillips**, **Albert Ottenheimer** and Del Skeets.

June 30, 1948—SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER—"Canwell Red Probers Defied by Playhouse and University of Washington Group."

Defiance of Canwell Un-American Activities Committee subpoenas was voiced yesterday in a statement bearing the names of six University of Washington faculty members and three members of the staff of the Repertory Playhouse.

The statement, released by **Theodore Astley**, University veterans' counselor, bore the typewritten names of **Joseph Butterworth**, **Herbert J. Phillips**, **Astley**, **Harold W. Sunoo**, **Phillip Davis** and **Ralph H. Gundlach**. All except Davis are University faculty members. Davis recently left the University, Astley said.

Playhouse representatives named were **Burton W. James**, **Florence B. James** and **Albert Ottenheimer**.

The statement said they would not participate in Canwell Committee hearings and charged the committee is unconstitutional.

COMMENT: Both Mrs. James and Mr. Phillips, it will be remembered, are officers of the Washington Citizen Bill of Rights Committee which was avowedly set up for the purpose of "taking counter action against the Canwell Committee."

### RECAPITULATION

Activities and affiliations of certain University Professors and of officers of the Repertory Playhouse, as depicted herein, might be summarized individually as follows:

#### Prof. Joseph Butterworth

From 1936 to the present time **Professor Joseph Butterworth** has been associated with as sponsor, member or in other capacity, two organizations whose activities, resolutions and programs perfectly reflect the varying phases of the Communist Party Line. He was active in support of the New World, Communist Party publication and he actively supported two individuals for public office who have long been identified with Communist Party activities and affiliated organizations.

#### Prof. Maud Beal

**Professor Maud Beal**, as a member of the Teachers' Union Local 401 may be presumed to have subscribed to its policies. Those policies, as evidenced by the material presented herein, followed the Communist Party Line switch in August 1939 from a collective-security united-front against the aggressors program to a completely isolationist program. Again, following Germany's invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941, this same Local 401 followed the Communist Party Line switch from an isolationist program to one of active participation in the war; repeal of the neutrality act and opening of a second front. Following the termination of hostilities in 1945 I find Prof. Beal as a sponsor of an organization cited by both Attorney General Clark and the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist Front organization.

#### Prof. Herbert J. Phillips

**Professor Herbert J. Phillips**, as shown herein, has been a sponsor, member or officer of at least three Communist Front organizations; is a charter member of an organization avowedly set up for the purpose of thwarting the efforts of the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee in its investigations of subversive activities and his activities and affiliations follow the Communist Party line through its switches from 1936 to the present time.

#### Prof. Melville Jacobs

From 1936 through the early part of 1946, **Professor Melville Jacobs** has been identified with as sponsor, member or officer, at least three organizations whose policies, programs and activities have constantly paralleled the Communist Party Line. He has endorsed the candidacy for public office of an individual long identified with the Communist Party and affiliated groups and has gone on record on at least four different occasions in regard to publications, legislation, etc., reflecting three separate phases of the Communist Party Line.

#### Prof. Garland Ethel

From 1936 through 1942 it would appear that **Professor Garland Ethel** has been associated with as sponsor, member or officer at least four organizations identified as Communist inspired and dominated whose programs and

activities throughout this period have perfectly reflected the varying phases and changes of the Communist Party Line without deviation. In addition he signed statements defending the Communist Party in Russia and in support of men active in carrying out Communist Party work.

#### Mr. Burton James

It would appear that since 1935 **Mr. Burton James** has been associated with as member, or sponsor, at least six organizations whose platforms and activities have closely paralleled the Communist Party Line through its varying changes regardless of whether those policies and activities paralleled or were in opposition to the internal or foreign policy of the United States Government. Each of these organizations has been cited as a Communist Front by one or more of the following: Attorney General Tom Clark; Special Committee on Un-American Activities or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California. Mr. James also sponsored one other organization whose activities perfectly reflected the Communist Party Line. He signed the statement in defense of the Moscow purge trials; sponsored at least one Communist Party Speaker and was a dinner sponsor for Paul Robeson, whose long record of activities for the Communist Party and Front organizations is so well known.

#### Mr. Albert Ottenheimer

**Mr. Albert Ottenheimer** has been associated with as sponsor, member or officer at least six separate organizations whose objectives and activities perfectly reflect one or more phases of the Communist Party Line. During 1938 he was one of those persons who signed a statement in defense of the Moscow Purge Trials, which statement was obviously a document concocted in defense of the Communist Party.

#### Prof. Harold Eby

Since 1936 **Professor Harold Eby** has been associated with as a member, sponsor or officer, at least six organizations whose announced platforms or activities have paralleled the Communist Party Line through its varying changes regardless of whether those platforms and activities paralleled, or were in opposition to the internal or foreign policy of the United States Government. Each of these organizations has been cited as a Communist Front by one or more of the following: Attorney General Biddle; Attorney General Tom Clark; House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California. Professor Eby has been a member and officer of one organization whose policies over the years have perfectly reflected the Communist Party Line. In addition he endorsed the candidacy of an individual for public office who has long been known for his participation in activities of the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

#### Prof. Melvin Rader

During the period from 1935 through 1947, as shown herein, **Professor Melvin Rader** has been associated with as sponsor, member or other capacity at least twelve organizations whose announced platforms and whose activities have closely paralleled the Communist Party Line through its varying phases regardless of whether those policies and activities were in agreement with, or opposition to, the internal or foreign policy of the United States

Government. Each one of these organizations has been cited as a Communist Front by one or more of the following: Attorney General Tom Clark; Attorney General Biddle; Special Committee on Un-American Activities or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California. Professor Rader has also been a member, sponsor or officer of two other organizations whose policies have perfectly reflected the Communist Party Line. He signed messages in defense of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and opposing the Dies Committee. Professor Rader endorsed the candidacy of an individual for public office who has a long record of active participation in, and affiliation with, the Communist Party and affiliated organizations. Several instances of speeches and participation in meetings, luncheons, etc., which further reflected the Communist Party Line, have been given.

### **Mrs. Florence Bean James**

**Mrs. Florence Bean James**, since 1934, has been associated with as member, sponsor or officer, at least fourteen different organizations whose announced platforms and subsequent activities have closely paralleled the Communist Party Line through its varying changes regardless of whether those platforms and activities paralleled, or were in opposition to, the internal or foreign policy of the United States Government. Each of these organizations has been cited as a Communist Front organization by one or more of the following: Attorney General Biddle; Attorney General Tom Clark; Committee on Un-American Activities or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California.

Mrs. James has been a member, officer or sponsor of three other organizations whose activities and policies have perfectly reflected the Communist Party Line.

As presented herein Mrs. James has endorsed the candidacy, and been active in support of, at least three persons in their campaigns for public office who have long records of participation in, and affiliation with, the Communist Party and affiliated organizations.

The numerous book reviews, topics of speeches, dinners and other activities tend to indicate that Mrs. James' interests, aside from the purely vocational, center around Russia or Russian topics. In addition it would appear that she constantly associates with persons of like interests.

### **Prof. Ralph Gundlach**

**Professor Ralph Gundlach**, since 1936, has been associated with as member, sponsor or officer, at least fifteen different organizations whose announced platforms and activities have closely paralleled the Communist Party Line through its varying changes regardless of whether those policies paralleled or were in opposition to the internal or foreign policy of the United States Government. Each one of the aforementioned organizations has been cited as a Communist Front by two or more of the following: Attorney General Biddle; Attorney General Tom Clark; Special Committee on Un-American Activities or the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of California.

Professor Gundlach has been a member, sponsor or officer of two other organizations whose activities have perfectly reflected the Communist Party Line.

As presented herein, Prof. Gundlach has endorsed the candidacy for public office of an individual who has a long record of participation in, and affilia-

tion with, the Communist Party and allied organizations. He has signed statements in defense of the Communist Party, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and in opposition to the Dies Committee.

Professor Gundlach signed statements in defense of four individuals who have long records of participation in activities of the Communist Party and affiliated groups. He attended luncheons, meetings or other functions honoring four persons, one of whom is an acknowledged member of the Communist Party, the other three having long records of activities furthering the Communist Party cause. In addition Prof. Gundlach was active in giving financial support to the local publication of the Communist Party and at no time have any of the activities participated in been found to be in opposition to the current Communist Party Line or the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.



# INDEX

## A

|                                                                   | <i>Page</i>                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Action Conference on Indonesia.....                               | 77                                                                                |
| Adams, Arthur .....                                               | 155, 156, 157                                                                     |
| Aeronautical Mechanics Union.....                                 | 353                                                                               |
| Alabama State Teachers College.....                               | 49                                                                                |
| Albion College .....                                              | 49                                                                                |
| All-Arts Action Meeting.....                                      | 77                                                                                |
| Allen, James S. (See also Auerbach, Sol).....                     | 74, 75, 148                                                                       |
| Ambijan .....                                                     | 56, 77                                                                            |
| American Association of Scientific Workers.....                   | 77                                                                                |
| American Association for the United Nations.....                  | 67                                                                                |
| American Association of University Professors.....                | 88                                                                                |
| American Association of University Women.....                     | 67                                                                                |
| American Business Congress .....                                  | 77                                                                                |
| American Civil Liberties Union.....                               | 114, 341, 342, 350, 356                                                           |
| American Committee for Armenian Rights.....                       | 77                                                                                |
| American Committee for Indonesian Independence.....               | 77                                                                                |
| American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists..... | 56, 77                                                                            |
| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, The.....       | 50, 51, 56, 77, 270, 360                                                          |
| American Committee for Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan.....      | 77                                                                                |
| American Committee for Spanish Freedom .....                      | 77                                                                                |
| American Committee for Yugoslav Relief.....                       | 77                                                                                |
| American Council for a Democratic Greece.....                     | 77                                                                                |
| American Council on Soviet Relations.....                         | 269, 366                                                                          |
| American Crusade to End Lynching.....                             | 77                                                                                |
| American Federation of Labor .....                                | 67, 345                                                                           |
| American Federation of Teachers .....                             | 116, 343, 344, 345, 351, 353, 354                                                 |
| American Federation of Teachers—Local No. 401.....                | 116, 117, 118, 269, 270, 345, 346, 347, 349, 352, 357, 360, 382                   |
| American Friends of the Chinese People.....                       | 56                                                                                |
| American Friends of India .....                                   | 77                                                                                |
| American Institute of Pacific Relations.....                      | 77                                                                                |
| American Investors Union .....                                    | 77                                                                                |
| American Jewish Labor Council.....                                | 77                                                                                |
| American League for Peace and Democracy.....                      | 176, 177, 178, 180, 212, 348, 349, 350                                            |
| American League Against War and Fascism.....                      | 40, 70, 114, 115, 165, 166, 177, 207, 208, 212, 214, 317, 318, 341, 342, 343, 344 |
| American Negro Congress .....                                     | 344                                                                               |
| American Newspaper Guild .....                                    | 72, 116                                                                           |
| American Peace Mobilization, The.....                             | 41, 81, 118, 269, 270, 293, 353, 356, 357, 358, 359                               |
| American People's Fund .....                                      | 77                                                                                |
| American Polish Labor Council.....                                | 77                                                                                |
| American Pushkin Committee .....                                  | 56, 341                                                                           |
| American Relief for Greek Democracy.....                          | 77                                                                                |
| American Review of Soviet Medicine.....                           | 77                                                                                |
| American-Russian Institute .....                                  | 53, 77                                                                            |
| American Slav Congress.....                                       | 77                                                                                |
| American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy .....          | 77                                                                                |
| American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia .....         | 340, 341                                                                          |
| American Society for Russian Relations.....                       | 77                                                                                |
| American-Soviet Medical Society .....                             | 77                                                                                |
| American-Soviet Music Society .....                               | 77                                                                                |
| American-Soviet Science Society, The.....                         | 53, 54, 77                                                                        |
| American Student Union.....                                       | 84, 117, 193, 343, 351                                                            |
| "American Teacher, The".....                                      | 117, 351                                                                          |
| American University Women's League.....                           | 77                                                                                |
| American Veterans' Committee .....                                | 148                                                                               |
| American Writers' Congress .....                                  | 146                                                                               |
| American Youth Congress .....                                     | 81, 84, 180, 342                                                                  |
| American Youth for Democracy.....                                 | 77, 84, 147, 194, 239, 270, 274, 364, 365, 360                                    |
| America Youth for a Free World.....                               | 77, 84                                                                            |
| Americas, The .....                                               | 77                                                                                |

|                                                                           | Page                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Amherst College                                                           | 49                                               |
| Amrine, Michael                                                           | 72                                               |
| Anglo-American Committee on Jewish Problems                               | 375                                              |
| Anti-Fascist Mass Meeting                                                 | 320                                              |
| Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (See Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee) |                                                  |
| "Anvil, The"                                                              | 145                                              |
| Apt, John                                                                 | 74, 191                                          |
| Armstrong, H. C. "Army"                                                   | 91f, 348, 351                                    |
| Artists League of America                                                 | 77                                               |
| Associated Blind                                                          | 77                                               |
| Association Democratique Haitienne                                        | 77                                               |
| Association of the Greek Community                                        | 77                                               |
| Association for Propaganda Analysis                                       | 359                                              |
| Association of Scientists for Atomic Education                            | 77                                               |
| Association of Young Writers and Artists                                  | 77                                               |
| Astley, Ted                                                               | 1, 268, 273, 304f, 380                           |
| Atkinson, N. P.                                                           | 176, 177, 178, 207, 208, 212, 214, 348, 351, 356 |
| Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations                            | 68                                               |
| Atomic Energy Commission of the United States                             | 68                                               |
| Atwood, Stanley                                                           | 345                                              |
| Auerbach, Sol (Alias Allen, James S.)                                     | 74, 75, 148                                      |
| Austro-American Tribune                                                   | 77                                               |
| Authors' League of America                                                | 77                                               |
| <b>B</b>                                                                  |                                                  |
| Bader, John                                                               | 353                                              |
| Baldwin, C. B.                                                            | 47                                               |
| Barayev, Major Paul                                                       | 361                                              |
| Bard College                                                              | 49                                               |
| Barlow, Samuel L. M.                                                      | 63                                               |
| Barsky, Edward                                                            | 367, 375                                         |
| Bartlett, Rev. Josiah                                                     | 373                                              |
| Bates, Ruby                                                               | 150                                              |
| Beal, Maud                                                                | 1, 22, 30, 305f, 342, 357, 360, 373, 382         |
| Beardsley, Leonard                                                        | 377                                              |
| Begun, Isidora                                                            | 249, 251, 275                                    |
| Bellingham Normal School (See Western Washington College of Education)    |                                                  |
| Benet, William Rose                                                       | 63                                               |
| Benham, Allen                                                             | 370                                              |
| Bennett, Gwendolyn                                                        | 275                                              |
| Benning, Mr. J. S.                                                        | 40                                               |
| Benson, Elmer A.                                                          | 47                                               |
| Bernard, John T.                                                          | 153, 190, 358                                    |
| Bernays, Edward L.                                                        | 69                                               |
| Bernstein, Leonard                                                        | 63                                               |
| Bernstein, Walter                                                         | 63                                               |
| Berry, Abner                                                              | 145                                              |
| Berry, Fred                                                               | 376                                              |
| Bethe, Hans A.                                                            | 64, 65                                           |
| Bethune-Cookman College in Florida                                        | 66                                               |
| Bethune, Mrs. Mary McLeod                                                 | 66, 67, 68                                       |
| Bettinger, Mary                                                           | 369                                              |
| Billings, Henry                                                           | 63                                               |
| Binns, Archie                                                             | 364                                              |
| Bird, Bonnie (See Gunlach, Bonnie Bird)                                   |                                                  |
| "Black Worker" by Richard Wright                                          | 294                                              |
| Blackford, Dr. Harry                                                      | 377, 378                                         |
| Blaine, Mrs. Anita McCormick                                              | 47                                               |
| Blood Brotherhood                                                         | 256                                              |
| Bloor, Ella Reid ("Mother Bloor")                                         | 74, 149, 263                                     |
| Book Find Club                                                            | 77                                               |
| Booth, Mrs. A. Fletcher                                                   | 377                                              |

|                                                          | Page                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Boren, Virginia                                          | 339                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Bowles, Alfred Howard, Jr.                               | 99f                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Boyer, Charles                                           | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Bradley, Mr. Roland                                      | 361                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Brameld, Theodore                                        | 46, 47                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Bridges, Harry                                           | 43, 117, 139, 322, 346, 352, 358, 361, 369                                                                                                                                                            |
| Bridges, Harry—Citizens Committee for                    | 50, 51, 117, 269, 270, 322, 352, 358, 369                                                                                                                                                             |
| Bridges, Harry—Defense Committee for                     | 117, 270, 321, 322, 323, 352                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Bridges, Harry—Victory Committee for                     | 117, 322, 352                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Bridges, Harry—Washington State Sponsoring Committee for | 270, 323, 352                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Briehl Farm                                              | 252, 254, 323                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Briggs, Cyril                                            | 256                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Brockway, Harold                                         | 348, 353, 355                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Brockway, Louise                                         | 263                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Brockwood College                                        | 359                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Brook-Haven National Laboratory, The                     | 54, 72                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Brooklyn College                                         | 49, 55                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Brooklyn Polytechnic in New York                         | 155, 157                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China     | 77                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Brooklyn Women's Conference for Security and Peace       | 77                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Brooks, Carl                                             | 263, 376                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Brooks, Frances                                          | 348                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Browder, Earl                                            | 10, 25, 41, 92, 93, 146, 153, 161, 178, 179, 180, 210, 275, 280, 284, 285, 286, 335, 354                                                                                                              |
| Browder, Mrs. Earl (alias Burkman, Rise)                 | 280                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Brown, James O.                                          | 62                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Brown, Miss Jo Ann                                       | 337, 338                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Bruneaur, Stephen                                        | 193                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Buckmaster, Henrietta                                    | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Budenz, Louis F.                                         | 114, 291, 342                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Building Service Employees International Union, Local 6  | 312, 314, 366                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Burkman, Rise (See also Browder, Mrs. Earl)              | 280                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Burrougs, Willie Anna                                    | 249                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Butler, Dr. Nicholas Murray                              | 192                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Butterworth, Dorothy                                     | 93, 161, 210, 211, 212                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Butterworth, Joseph                                      | 1, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 29, 92, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 102, 109, 121, 127, 130, 134, 161, 169, 210, 211, 212, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 233f, 270, 342, 357, 360, 361, 362, 364, 373, 374, 379, 380, 382 |
| <b>C</b>                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| "Cabinet Youth"                                          | 146                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Cafe Society                                             | 128, 213                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| California Institute of Technology                       | 54, 281                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| California Labor School, The                             | 49, 77, 366                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Callahan, Kenneth                                        | 364                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Cameron, Angus                                           | 47                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Camozzi, Mrs. Marion                                     | 355, 363                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Camp Beacon                                              | 77                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Camp Unity                                               | 77                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Camp Wo-Chi-Ca                                           | 77                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Campbell, Ray                                            | 380                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Canadian Royal Commission                                | 40, 45, 52, 54                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Cantor, Eddie                                            | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Canyon Creek Lodge                                       | 325, 327, 328                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Carithers, Mrs. Edna                                     | 377                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Carlson, Evans F.                                        | 60, 63                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Carlson, Fred                                            | 374                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Carnegie Endowment for International Peace               | 192                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Casgrain, A. E.                                          | 67                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Castle, Del                                              | 365, 374                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Catholic Association for International Peace             | 67                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Catholic University in Washington                        | 54                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

|                                                                          | Page                                                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Caughlan, John                                                           | 1, 2, 141, 158, 162, 169, 170, 171, 172, 215, 228, 229, 235, 273, 315, 351, 356, 358, 364 |
| Central Labor Council of Seattle                                         | 345                                                                                       |
| Chambers, Whitaker                                                       | 192                                                                                       |
| "Challenger, The"                                                        | 77                                                                                        |
| "Champion"                                                               | 359                                                                                       |
| Chiarellie & Kirk                                                        | 369                                                                                       |
| "Chicago Star, The"                                                      | 77                                                                                        |
| Childs, John L.                                                          | 117, 351                                                                                  |
| China Arrangements Conference Committee                                  | 376                                                                                       |
| "China Daily News"                                                       | 77                                                                                        |
| "Christian Register, The"                                                | 44                                                                                        |
| City College of New York                                                 | 49, 154, 256                                                                              |
| Citizens Committee for Children                                          | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Committee for William E. Harrison (Boston)                      | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government                   | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side                                | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Legislative Conference of New York State                        | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect a Negro to the State Senate     | 77                                                                                        |
| Citizens Social Research Council                                         | 77                                                                                        |
| Civil Rights Federation (Michigan)                                       | 77                                                                                        |
| Civil Rights Congress                                                    | 77, 269, 354, 379                                                                         |
| Coffee, John                                                             | 364, 378                                                                                  |
| Cohen, Fred B.                                                           | 378                                                                                       |
| Cohen, Joseph                                                            | 2, 21, 29, 31, 109, 133, 169, 146, 268, 334f, 362                                         |
| Cohn, Rabbi Franklin                                                     | 373                                                                                       |
| Cole, Merwin                                                             | 364, 365, 366, 374                                                                        |
| Coleman, Arthur P.                                                       | 45                                                                                        |
| Coley, Ward                                                              | 376                                                                                       |
| "College News Letter, The"                                               | 117, 351                                                                                  |
| Columbia University                                                      | 44, 45, 48, 49, 54, 351                                                                   |
| Columbia University Teachers' College                                    | 117, 351                                                                                  |
| Committee to Aid the Fighting South                                      | 78                                                                                        |
| Committee of Catholics for Human Rights                                  | 78                                                                                        |
| Committee for Citizenship Rights, The                                    | 50, 51                                                                                    |
| Committee for Citizenship Rights for William Schneiderman                | 270, 360, 361                                                                             |
| Committee to Defend and Obtain Citizenship for Michael J. Obermeier      | 78                                                                                        |
| Committee for a Democratic Far-Eastern Policy, The                       | 50, 51, 78, 376                                                                           |
| Committee for Democratic Rights                                          | 78                                                                                        |
| Committee on Election Rights                                             | 356                                                                                       |
| Committee to Lift the Embargo on Spain                                   | 269                                                                                       |
| Committee of One Thousand, The                                           | 78                                                                                        |
| Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship | 78                                                                                        |
| "Commonwealth Builder"                                                   | 95                                                                                        |
| Commonwealth College                                                     | 359                                                                                       |
| Commonwealth Party                                                       | 177                                                                                       |
| "Communist Position on the Negro Question, The"                          | 279                                                                                       |
| Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston                             | 347                                                                                       |
| "Communist, The"                                                         | 35, 36, 37, 343                                                                           |
| Condon, Dr. Edward U.                                                    | 53, 54, 55, 66, 67, 73                                                                    |
| Conference for People's Rights                                           | 358, 359                                                                                  |
| Congress of American Women                                               | 78                                                                                        |
| Congress of Industrial Organizations—Political Action Committee          | 374                                                                                       |
| Congress for Peace and Democracy                                         | 270                                                                                       |
| Connecticut College                                                      | 49                                                                                        |
| Connolly, Eugene P.                                                      | 371                                                                                       |
| Connor, King Ramsey                                                      | 345                                                                                       |
| Conrad, Mabel                                                            | 263                                                                                       |
| Conroy, Jack                                                             | 145                                                                                       |
| Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative                                         | 78                                                                                        |
| Consumers' Union, The                                                    | 50, 51, 78                                                                                |
| Contemporary Writers                                                     | 78                                                                                        |

|                                                 | Page                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Conway, Rev. E. A.                              | 67                                                                                |
| Cook, Gretchen                                  | 263                                                                               |
| Cooke, Morris Llewellyn                         | 63                                                                                |
| Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, The | 50, 51                                                                            |
| Cornell University                              | 49, 54                                                                            |
| Corson, Samuel A.                               | 63                                                                                |
| Corwin, Norman                                  | 60, 63                                                                            |
| Costigan, Mrs. Giovanni                         | 361                                                                               |
| Costigan, Prof. Giovanni                        | 350, 361, 362                                                                     |
| Costigan, Howard G.                             | 96, 97, 125, 126, 127, 128, 162, 210, 300, 302, 349, 350, 351, 355, 360, 364, 365 |
| Costigan, Isabel                                | 96, 120f                                                                          |
| Council on African Affairs                      | 78, 366                                                                           |
| Council Against Intolerance in America          | 78                                                                                |
| Council for Pan-American Democracy              | 78, 270, 363                                                                      |
| Counts, Prof. George S.                         | 353, 354                                                                          |
| Kramer, Mr. (See also Krivitzky, Charles)       | 192                                                                               |
| Craycraft, Roscoe                               | 365                                                                               |
| Cromwell, John                                  | 63                                                                                |
| Crowther, Bosley                                | 63                                                                                |
| Crum, Bartley                                   | 375                                                                               |

## D

|                                           |                                                                                                                                      |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| "Daily Peoples World—"                    | 75, 80, 168, 339, 354, 362, 363, 365, 366, 369                                                                                       |
| "Daily Worker, The"                       | 50, 73, 75, 78, 112, 114, 115, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 167, 190, 192, 193, 194, 209, 292, 323, 339, 342, 346, 352, 357, 361    |
| Damon, Anna                               | 295                                                                                                                                  |
| Darcy, Sam                                | 361                                                                                                                                  |
| Davidson, Jo                              | 47, 60, 62                                                                                                                           |
| Davies, Joseph E.                         | 63                                                                                                                                   |
| Davis, Benjamin, Jr.                      | 191, 295, 371                                                                                                                        |
| Davis, Jerome                             | 116, 117, 351                                                                                                                        |
| Davis, Lena                               | 281, 282                                                                                                                             |
| Davis, Phillip Hunt                       | 2, 93, 94, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 223, 242, 247, 261, 273, 380                                                                |
| Davis, Rev. F. Benjamin                   | 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377                                                                                                         |
| Davis, S. P.                              | 136                                                                                                                                  |
| Dawes, Dr. Norman                         | 69                                                                                                                                   |
| Dean of Canterbury (see Johnson, Hewlitt) |                                                                                                                                      |
| DeLacy Campaign Committee                 | 374                                                                                                                                  |
| DeLacy, Hugh                              | 83, 117, 118, 126, 162, 186, 210, 300, 302, 303, 341, 345, 349, 350, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 358, 360, 362, 364, 365, 366, 373, 374 |
| Dennett, Eugene V.                        | 348, 353, 355                                                                                                                        |
| Dennis, Eugene                            | 191                                                                                                                                  |
| DePaw University                          | 49                                                                                                                                   |
| Densmore, Prof. Herbert                   | 378                                                                                                                                  |
| Dewey, Dr. John                           | 116, 351                                                                                                                             |
| Dick, Wayne                               | 371                                                                                                                                  |
| "Dinner to Edwin V. Condon"               | 54, 55, 56                                                                                                                           |
| "Direction"                               | 78                                                                                                                                   |
| Dix, Mildred Genevieve                    | 189f                                                                                                                                 |
| Dix, Milton (alias Patton, Art)           | 182f, 341, 346                                                                                                                       |
| Dobbins, Aneta                            | 365                                                                                                                                  |
| Dobbins, Bill                             | 162, 348, 364                                                                                                                        |
| Dodd, Dr. Bella                           | 256, 275                                                                                                                             |
| Donaldson, Hallie                         | 345, 380                                                                                                                             |
| Dorner, Hannah                            | 62                                                                                                                                   |
| Doss, Mrs. Dorothy                        | 377                                                                                                                                  |
| Downtown Community School                 | 78                                                                                                                                   |
| Dreiser, Theodore                         | 186                                                                                                                                  |
| Duclos, Jacques                           | 275                                                                                                                                  |
| Duggan, Lawrence                          | 193                                                                                                                                  |

|                                   | Page     |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Duke University .....             | 49, 54   |
| Dunleavy, Harold .....            | 95       |
| Dunn, Prof. Leslie C. ....        | 53       |
| Duvall Old Age Pension Union..... | 356      |
| Dvorak, August .....              | 137, 138 |

## E

|                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Eagleson Hall .....                                            | 364, 365                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| East and West Association.....                                 | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Eby, Edwin Harold.....                                         | 2, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 25, 28, 94, 95, 96, 97, 107, 109, 120, 121, 127, 133, 144, 162, 163, 169, 174, 175, 199f, 207, 212, 230, 238, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 322, 342, 345, 348, 349, 351, 352, 355, 356, 357, 358, 360, 361, 362, 365, 369, 370, 371, 373, 374, 375, 383 |
| Eby, Mrs. Lenna (alias James, Grace).....                      | 2, 11, 20, 25, 29, 95, 121, 127, 163, 174, 175, 212, 310, 311, 313                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Edmiston, Rev. L. H. ....                                      | 225                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Eichelberger, Clark .....                                      | 67, 69                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Einstein, Albert .....                                         | 42, 43, 48, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 82, 186                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Eisenhower, Dwight D. ....                                     | 44, 45, 47                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Eisler Defense Committee.....                                  | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Eisler, Gerhard .....                                          | 157, 367, 379                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Eldredge, Sarah N. ....                                        | 207f, 271f, 340                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Eliot, Major George Fielding.....                              | 69                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Ellington, Duke .....                                          | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Emberg, John .....                                             | 15                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Emergency Committee of Artists, Scientists, and Educators..... | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.....                  | 64, 65, 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing.....                   | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Emergency Peace Mobilization .....                             | 269, 270, 356                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee.....                        | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Enmale, Herbert (see also Morais, Herbert).....                | 75                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Epstein, Jesse .....                                           | 22, 29, 96, 185, 214, 215, 216, 217, 237, 238                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Erlandson, J. N. ....                                          | 378                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Eteenpain .....                                                | 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Ethel, Mrs. Clarissa.....                                      | 2, 19, 25, 97, 113, 122, 339                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Ethel, Garland .....                                           | 2, 19, 25, 28, 97, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 127, 130f, 143f, 155, 169, 196, 207, 212, 230, 270, 322, 339, 340, 342, 347, 352, 357, 360, 361, 362, 382                                                                                             |
| Exhibit 1 .....                                                | 6                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Exhibit 2 .....                                                | 7                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Exhibit 3 .....                                                | 21, 31                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Exhibit 4 .....                                                | 47                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 5 .....                                                | 49                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 6 .....                                                | 49                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 7 .....                                                | 51                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 8 .....                                                | 56, 57                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Exhibit 9 .....                                                | 59                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 10 .....                                               | 60                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 11 .....                                               | 62                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 12 .....                                               | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 13 .....                                               | 65                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 14 .....                                               | 66                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 15 .....                                               | 67                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 16 .....                                               | 69                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Exhibit 17 .....                                               | 77, 79, 80, 78                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Exhibit 18 .....                                               | 137                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 19 .....                                               | 138                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 20 .....                                               | 183                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 21 .....                                               | 186                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 22 .....                                               | 186                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 23 .....                                               | 187                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 24 .....                                               | 187                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 25 .....                                               | 188                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Exhibit 27 .....                                               | 282                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

## F

|                                                       | Page                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| "Facts for Farmers".....                              | 78                                                     |
| Fagley, Rev. Richard.....                             | 67                                                     |
| Falk, Mrs. Joy.....                                   | 67                                                     |
| Far Eastern Survey.....                               | 78                                                     |
| Farquharson, F. B. ....                               | 341                                                    |
| Fast, Howard .....                                    | 62, 63, 380                                            |
| Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America..... | 67                                                     |
| Federal Public Housing Administration.....            | 22, 95, 215                                            |
| Federation of American Scientists, The.....           | 54, 68, 72                                             |
| Federation of Atomic Scientists.....                  | 66, 67, 71, 72, 73, 78                                 |
| Ferrer, Jose .....                                    | 63                                                     |
| Fessenden, Alice .....                                | 378                                                    |
| Field, Frederick Vanderbilt.....                      | 41                                                     |
| Finletter, Thomas .....                               | 69                                                     |
| Fish, Glen .....                                      | 378                                                    |
| Fisher, Charles H. ....                               | 136, 137                                               |
| Fletcher, Jess .....                                  | 309, 312f, 364                                         |
| Fletcher, Mrs. Judith.....                            | 309f                                                   |
| Fogg, Kathryn .....                                   | 92, 160f, 216, 351, 355                                |
| Fontaine, Joan .....                                  | 63                                                     |
| Food Workers' Union.....                              | 296, 297                                               |
| Forbes, Lenora .....                                  | 326                                                    |
| Forbes, Malcolm .....                                 | 326                                                    |
| Ford, James W. ....                                   | 256, 287, 292                                          |
| Forschmidt, Rachmiel ("Rocky").....                   | 185, 187, 189, 231, 232, 260f, 262, 263, 264, 271, 272 |
| Foster, William Z. ....                               | 168, 191                                               |
| Foster, Mrs. Homer.....                               | 365                                                    |
| Fowler, Dr. Walter.....                               | 352                                                    |
| Fox, Capt. John.....                                  | 378                                                    |
| Frank, Richard .....                                  | 36, 37                                                 |
| Franzke, Albert L. ....                               | 360, 361, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 379       |
| Franzke, Mrs. Albert.....                             | 379                                                    |
| Fraternal Committee for Political Action.....         | 78                                                     |
| Fraternal Outlook .....                               | 78                                                     |
| Free Italy-American Labor Council.....                | 78                                                     |
| Freelon, Allan R. ....                                | 63                                                     |
| Freeman, Frank S. ....                                | 46, 47                                                 |
| Freethinkers of America.....                          | 350                                                    |
| Freil, Edward .....                                   | 378                                                    |
| Friel, Eddy .....                                     | 377                                                    |
| Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.....           | 56, 78, 350, 368                                       |
| Friends of Italian Democracy.....                     | 78                                                     |
| Friends Service Bureau.....                           | 368                                                    |
| Friends of Spain.....                                 | 177                                                    |
| Fritchman, Rev. Stephen H.....                        | 44                                                     |
| Frontier Bookstore .....                              | 363                                                    |
| Frothingham, Dr. Channing.....                        | 63                                                     |
| Furriers Trade Union.....                             | 116, 251, 290, 351                                     |

## G

|                                      |                            |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Gallagher, Michael .....             | 355                        |
| Gans, Dr. Rudolph.....               | 63                         |
| Garcia-Prada, Carlos .....           | 370                        |
| Garfield, Viola .....                | 2, 347, 361, 373, 374, 375 |
| George, Earl .....                   | 263                        |
| George Washington Carver School..... | 78                         |
| Gerber, Sidney .....                 | 377, 378                   |
| "German American, The".....          | 78                         |
| Gest, Morris .....                   | 340                        |
| Gilbert, Jane .....                  | 366                        |
| Glass, Col. Ralph R.....             | 240, 241, 242f             |
| Glasser, Dr. Harold.....             | 193                        |

|                                                                                                    | Page                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Glover, Ray .....                                                                                  | 377                               |
| Glynn, Robert .....                                                                                | 374                               |
| Gold, Ben .....                                                                                    | 290                               |
| Goodman, Irving .....                                                                              | 365                               |
| Goodner, Josephine .....                                                                           | 326                               |
| Gos, Ludowy .....                                                                                  | 78                                |
| Grauer, Ben .....                                                                                  | 63                                |
| Gray, Dr. A. Bernard .....                                                                         | 378, 380                          |
| Gray, Mrs. A. Bernard .....                                                                        | 380                               |
| Greek-American Committee for National Unity .....                                                  | 78                                |
| Greek-American "Tribune" .....                                                                     | 78                                |
| Green, Gilbert .....                                                                               | 295                               |
| Greenfield, Mr. Louis .....                                                                        | 368, 369                          |
| Griffith, Dr. Dudley D. ....                                                                       | 346                               |
| Groves, Gen. Leslie .....                                                                          | 52                                |
| Gumperts, Hedda .....                                                                              | 193                               |
| Gundlach, Bonnie Bird .....                                                                        | 123, 353, 359, 368, 371, 379, 380 |
| Gundlach, Ralph H. ....                                                                            | 2, 49, 50, 51, 95, 109, 122,      |
| 123, 126, 127, 133, 134, 143, 163, 164, 169, 185, 186, 204f, 207, 213, 218, 219, 246, 247, 251,    |                                   |
| 253, 300, 301, 302, 303, 307, 308, 341, 342, 343, 346, 347, 350, 353, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359,     |                                   |
| 360, 361, 362, 363, 365, 366, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 384, 385 |                                   |
| Gunn, Tom .....                                                                                    | 145                               |
| Gustavson, Reuben G. ....                                                                          | 63                                |
| Guth, Chester .....                                                                                | 184                               |
| Guthrie, Dr. Elton .....                                                                           | 346, 347                          |

## H

|                                                                              |                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hacker, Louis .....                                                          | 117, 351                                                   |
| Haglund, Margaret .....                                                      | 231                                                        |
| Hall, Ralph .....                                                            | 223                                                        |
| Halpern, Frieda F. ....                                                      | 67                                                         |
| Hamilton, Barton .....                                                       | 376                                                        |
| Hamilton College .....                                                       | 55                                                         |
| Hancock, John .....                                                          | 69                                                         |
| Hanson, Hilda .....                                                          | 365, 374                                                   |
| Hardy, Jack (see also Zysman, Dale) .....                                    | 75, 275                                                    |
| Hargrove, Marion .....                                                       | 63                                                         |
| Harris, Jesse .....                                                          | 263                                                        |
| Harris, Louis .....                                                          | 63                                                         |
| Harrison, Joseph B. ....                                                     | 337, 346, 360, 361, 366, 367, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375 |
| Harrison, Mrs. Joseph B. ....                                                | 370                                                        |
| Hart, Moss .....                                                             | 63, 368                                                    |
| Hartmann, George W. ....                                                     | 117, 351                                                   |
| Hartle, Barbara .....                                                        | 222, 224, 263                                              |
| Harvard University .....                                                     | 49, 54, 347                                                |
| Hathaway, Clarence .....                                                     | 152, 153, 283                                              |
| Hatten, C. T. (Hatten, Barry) .....                                          | 13, 233, 234, 235                                          |
| Heathers, Dr. Louise .....                                                   | 374                                                        |
| Hebrew Union College .....                                                   | 49                                                         |
| Heidelberg College .....                                                     | 49                                                         |
| Hellman, Lillian .....                                                       | 63                                                         |
| Henry, Edward E. ....                                                        | 103, 130, 143, 203, 243, 324, 332, 333, 351, 378           |
| Herndon, Angelo .....                                                        | 295                                                        |
| Herring, Francis .....                                                       | 378                                                        |
| Hersey, John .....                                                           | 63                                                         |
| Herskovits, Melville J. ....                                                 | 47, 63                                                     |
| Herstein, Lillian .....                                                      | 117, 351                                                   |
| Herwig, Charles .....                                                        | 377                                                        |
| Hewitt, George (Alias Jackson, Edward; James, George; Holmes, Timothy) ..... | 142f, 228, 248f 261, 274f, 323                             |
| Hicks, Granville .....                                                       | 348                                                        |
| Hicks, Victor .....                                                          | 345                                                        |
| Higinbotham, William A. ....                                                 | 68, 69, 71, 72                                             |

|                                                   | Page                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Higman, Molly .....                               | 369                                  |
| Hill, Howard (See also Selsam, Howard) .....      | 75                                   |
| Hippert, Edwin Harold .....                       | 135                                  |
| Hiskey, Clarence .....                            | 155, 156, 157                        |
| Hiskey, Marcia .....                              | 156                                  |
| Hiss, Alger .....                                 | 192, 193                             |
| Hiss, Donald .....                                | 191, 192                             |
| Hogness, Thorfin R. ....                          | 61, 63, 64, 65                       |
| Holder, Joseph .....                              | 376                                  |
| Hollywood Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees ..... | 78                                   |
| Hollywood Writers Mobilization .....              | 78                                   |
| Holmes, Timothy (See also Hewitt, George) .....   | 249, 256, 290                        |
| Honig, Nat. ....                                  | 167f, 336                            |
| Horton, Alan (See also Schappes, Morris U.) ..... | 75, 256, 275                         |
| Howard, Ralph .....                               | 348                                  |
| Huberman, Lee (Huberman, Leo) .....               | 348                                  |
| Hubert, Professor J. R. ....                      | 378                                  |
| Huff, Gertrude B. ....                            | 368, 369                             |
| Huff, Henry (Heinie) .....                        | 4, 5, 6, 14, 221, 223, 262, 263, 369 |
| Hungarian-American Council for Democracy .....    | 78                                   |
| Hunter College .....                              | 49                                   |
| Huson, Homer .....                                | 173f                                 |
| Huston, Walter .....                              | 63                                   |
| Huxley, Professor Julian .....                    | 59, 60                               |

## I

|                                                                                    |                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ickes, Harold L. ....                                                              | 58, 59, 61, 62, 373                                           |
| ICOR .....                                                                         | 78                                                            |
| Iglehart, Professor Robert .....                                                   | 349                                                           |
| Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions .....         | 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 269, 270, 372, 373, 374, 375, 378 |
| "In Fact" .....                                                                    | 78                                                            |
| Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University .....                         | 61                                                            |
| Institute for International Democracy .....                                        | 78                                                            |
| Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy .....                                  | 68, 69                                                        |
| Interdenominational Ministers Alliance .....                                       | 78                                                            |
| International (Fourth) Conference of Leaders of Communist Children's Leagues ..... | 38                                                            |
| International Convention of Solidarity with the Spanish People .....               | 362                                                           |
| International Juridical Association .....                                          | 78                                                            |
| International Labor Defense .....                                                  | 295, 379                                                      |
| International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union .....                          | 351                                                           |
| International Publishers .....                                                     | 78                                                            |
| International Women's Day .....                                                    | 78                                                            |
| International Workers Order .....                                                  | 78, 287                                                       |
| Iowa State College .....                                                           | 49                                                            |
| "Italy Today" .....                                                                | 78                                                            |

## J

|                                                                                                     |                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Jackson, Edward (See also Hewitt, George) .....                                                     | 249, 290                                                |
| Jackson, Gardner .....                                                                              | 67                                                      |
| Jackson, Harvey .....                                                                               | 353                                                     |
| Jacobs, Mrs. Elizabeth D. (Bess) .....                                                              | 12, 13, 21, 31, 122, 164, 165, 166, 211, 246            |
| Jacobs, Melville .....                                                                              | 2, 13, 21, 30, 116,                                     |
| 122, 164, 166, 169, 211, 231, 243f, 270, 342, 347, 349, 350, 354, 357, 358, 360, 361, 362, 373, 382 |                                                         |
| James, Burton W. ....                                                                               | 2, 15, 24, 123, 128, 129, 165, 166, 169, 184, 186, 208, |
| 213, 231, 241, 242, 267f, 337, 338, 339, 345, 347, 350, 361, 364, 366, 370, 373, 374, 375, 381, 383 |                                                         |
| James, Mrs. Florence Bean .....                                                                     | 2, 15, 24, 96, 97,                                      |
| 124, 128, 129, 142, 165, 166, 169, 186, 208, 213, 214, 224, 225, 226, 231, 241, 242, 252, 254,      |                                                         |
| 265f, 269, 286, 287, 288, 289, 313, 314, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353, 355,     |                                                         |
| 360, 361, 363, 364, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 384  |                                                         |
| James, George (See also Hewitt, George) .....                                                       | 249, 290                                                |
| James, Grace (See also Eby, Mrs. Lenna) .....                                                       | 174                                                     |

|                                                                                                      | Page           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Japanese American Committee for Democracy.....                                                       | 78             |
| Jefferson School of Social Science in New York, The.....                                             | 49, 75, 76, 78 |
| Jenkins, Harvey .....                                                                                | 355            |
| Jenkins, Hollis .....                                                                                | 208            |
| Jensen, Charles .....                                                                                | 376            |
| Jewell, Moro .....                                                                                   | 3f, 6, 7       |
| Jewish Black Book Committee.....                                                                     | 56, 78         |
| Jewish Council for Russian War Relief.....                                                           | 78             |
| Jewish Life .....                                                                                    | 78             |
| Jewish People's Committee.....                                                                       | 79             |
| Jewish People's Fraternal Order.....                                                                 | 79             |
| Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs.....                                                          | 79             |
| Johns Hopkins University.....                                                                        | 54             |
| Johnson (Alias Garland Ethel).....                                                                   | 132            |
| Johnson, Crockett .....                                                                              | 63             |
| Johnson, Mrs. Hazel.....                                                                             | 377            |
| Johnson, Hewlett .....                                                                               | 364            |
| Johnson, Manning .....                                                                               | 291, 296       |
| Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.....                                                            |                |
| 56, 57, 79, 218, 219, 269, 270, 319, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 375, 380 |                |
| Joint Conference Against Intervention in Greece and Turkey.....                                      | 79             |
| Joliot-Curie, Frederic .....                                                                         | 68, 69         |

## K

|                                        |          |
|----------------------------------------|----------|
| Kahn, Barbara .....                    | 374      |
| Kariel, Henry .....                    | 239f     |
| Karpatska, Rus .....                   | 79       |
| Kastner, Mrs. Ethel.....               | 374      |
| Kaufman, Dr. Harvard.....              | 371      |
| Kaye, Danny .....                      | 60       |
| Keller, Helen .....                    | 60       |
| Kelly, Gene .....                      | 63       |
| Kessler, Saul .....                    | 376, 378 |
| Kidwiler, Ray .....                    | 371, 374 |
| King, John .....                       | 371      |
| King, Marianne .....                   | 341, 346 |
| King, Prime Minister McKenzie.....     | 53       |
| Kirk, Mrs. Paul Hayden.....            | 368      |
| Klein, Philip .....                    | 46, 47   |
| Klein, Professor .....                 | 275      |
| Kleinberg, Abraham .....               | 296      |
| Kolemann, Walt .....                   | 102      |
| Kolthoff, Isaac M.....                 | 63       |
| Krivitzky, Charles (Alias Cramer)..... | 192      |

## L

|                                                                             |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Labor Unity .....                                                           | 167        |
| LaGuardia, Fiorello H.....                                                  | 63         |
| Laisve .....                                                                | 79         |
| Lamb, Prof. Robert K.....                                                   | 66, 67, 68 |
| Lamont, Corliss .....                                                       | 41, 348    |
| LaMotte, Mrs. Lillian.....                                                  | 210, 214   |
| Lane, George .....                                                          | 355        |
| Langford, Dr. .....                                                         | 81         |
| Langmuir, Dr. Irving.....                                                   | 73         |
| Larson, Korley .....                                                        | 365        |
| Lash, Joseph .....                                                          | 193        |
| Laski, Prof. Harold J.....                                                  | 350        |
| Lauterbach, Richard .....                                                   | 62, 63     |
| Lawson, Elizabeth .....                                                     | 252        |
| Lawrence, Mary Jo (Marijo) James.....                                       | 166, 224   |
| League Against War and Fascism, The (See American League Against War, etc.) |            |
| League for Fair Play.....                                                   | 79         |

|                                                 | Page                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| League for Mutual Aid.....                      | 79                                                    |
| League of Women Shoppers.....                   | 79                                                    |
| League of Young Southerners.....                | 79                                                    |
| Legg, Chas. ....                                | 348                                                   |
| Lenin Memorial Mass Meeting.....                | 371                                                   |
| Lenin School for Foreign Service in Moscow..... | 142, 155, 252, 258, 260, 277, 280, 281, 284, 285, 292 |
| Lewis, Gilbert .....                            | 257, 258                                              |
| Lilienthal Commission .....                     | 72                                                    |
| Lincoln, Abraham Brigade.....                   | 139, 151, 152, 214, 302, 303, 323                     |
| Lincoln, Abraham School.....                    | 76, 77                                                |
| Lindemans, Dr. Edward.....                      | 359                                                   |
| Linfield College .....                          | 49                                                    |
| Linville, Henry R.....                          | 116, 351                                              |
| List, Eugene .....                              | 63                                                    |
| Litchman, Mark M.....                           | 355                                                   |
| Little, John .....                              | 149                                                   |
| Lorimer, Rev. Allen.....                        | 372                                                   |
| Los Alamos Projector.....                       | 73                                                    |
| Los Angeles Newspaper Guild.....                | 72, 73                                                |
| Lovett, Robert Morse.....                       | 348                                                   |
| Lraper .....                                    | 79                                                    |
| Ludowy, Dennik .....                            | 79                                                    |
| Lundquist, Hugo .....                           | 353, 355                                              |
| L'Unito del Popolo .....                        | 79                                                    |
| Lyon, Peter .....                               | 63                                                    |

## Mac-Mc

|                                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| MacDougal, Prof. Curtis D.....      | 47          |
| McCoy, Nora .....                   | 376         |
| McCrery, Prof. L. L.....            | 374         |
| McDonald, Dr. Ralph.....            | 67, 69      |
| McEvers, Miss Mary Lou.....         | 364, 365    |
| McKay, George F.....                | 2, 370, 374 |
| McLeech, Bert .....                 | 376         |
| McMahon, Senator Bryan (Brien)..... | 69, 72      |
| McManus, John T.....                | 63          |
| McMichael, Rev. Jack.....           | 81          |

## M

|                                            |                    |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Magyar, Jovo .....                         | 79                 |
| Mahoney, Dan .....                         | 376                |
| Mander, Prof. Linden.....                  | 373                |
| Manhattan Project, The.....                | 52, 53, 54         |
| Manning, Paul .....                        | 374, 376, 377, 378 |
| Manuilsky, D. Z.....                       | 250, 252           |
| Marcantonio, Vito .....                    | 296, 363           |
| March, Florence Eldridge.....              | 63                 |
| March, Frederick .....                     | 59, 60, 62         |
| Margolin, Mrs. Olya .....                  | 67                 |
| Marshall, General George Caplan.....       | 44                 |
| Marshall, Robert .....                     | 84                 |
| Marshall, Robert—Foundation .....          | 80, 84             |
| Martin, Clarence D.....                    | 356                |
| Martin, Miss Fredericka.....               | 341                |
| Marzani, Carl .....                        | 379                |
| Massachusetts Institute of Technology..... | 49                 |
| "Masses and Mainstream".....               | 79                 |
| Massing, Paul .....                        | 193                |
| Matthews, Dr. James B.....                 | 33, 34f            |
| Matthiessen, Professor F. O.....           | 46, 47             |
| May, Allan Nunn.....                       | 52                 |
| May, Esther .....                          | 214                |

|                                                                    |                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Maynor, Dorothy .....                                              | 63                                                   |
| Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy .....        | 56, 184, 185, 186, 188, 269, 270, 321, 341, 346, 350 |
| Menefee, Selden .....                                              | 23, 30, 83, 341, 345, 347, 360                       |
| Menefee, Mrs. Selden .....                                         | 360                                                  |
| Merker, Fritz (alias Wagner) .....                                 | 167, 168                                             |
| Meserve, Miss Maureen .....                                        | 337                                                  |
| Methodist Federation for Social Action .....                       | 79, 80, 81, 341                                      |
| Metropolitan Broadcasting Company .....                            | 79                                                   |
| Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Coordinating Council ..... | 79                                                   |
| Metropolitan Music School .....                                    | 79                                                   |
| Meyerhold Theater .....                                            | 286, 287                                             |
| Meyers, Charles .....                                              | 365                                                  |
| Meyers, Dave .....                                                 | 249                                                  |
| Michigan Herald .....                                              | 79                                                   |
| Military Commission (Y.C.L.) .....                                 | 147                                                  |
| Milk Consumers Protective Committee .....                          | 79                                                   |
| Miller, Floyd C. ....                                              | 369                                                  |
| Mills College .....                                                | 49                                                   |
| Mindel, Dr. "Pop" J. ....                                          | 252, 254, 255, 258                                   |
| Miscaro, Nell .....                                                | 257                                                  |
| Mitchell, Mrs. Allen .....                                         | 67                                                   |
| Mobilization for Democracy .....                                   | 79                                                   |
| Mooney, Tom .....                                                  | 139, 345                                             |
| Mooney, Tom—Labor School .....                                     | 366                                                  |
| Moraise, Herbert (alias Enmale, Herbert) .....                     | 75                                                   |
| Morning Freiheit .....                                             | 79                                                   |
| Morning Freiheit Association .....                                 | 79                                                   |
| Morrison, Dr. Philip .....                                         | 69                                                   |
| Morse, Emily .....                                                 | 369                                                  |
| Morse, Philip M. ....                                              | 64, 65                                               |
| Moscow Art Theater .....                                           | 340                                                  |
| Moss, Stanley .....                                                | 63                                                   |
| Moszee, Eugene .....                                               | 226                                                  |
| Motion Picture Artists Committee .....                             | 55, 56                                               |
| Murphy, Senator .....                                              | 226                                                  |
| Murray, Al .....                                                   | 378                                                  |
| Musicians Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy .....                 | 56                                                   |
| Myers, Frederic .....                                              | 196                                                  |

## N

|                                                                                      |                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Nadai, Dr. Arpad .....                                                               | 73                 |
| Nafé, Gertrude .....                                                                 | 378                |
| Nailebn .....                                                                        | 79                 |
| Nance, Dr. Ellwood C. ....                                                           | 175, 176f, 348     |
| Narodna Glasnik .....                                                                | 79                 |
| Narodni Volya .....                                                                  | 79                 |
| Nation Associates .....                                                              | 57                 |
| National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council .....                                | 57                 |
| National Citizens Political Action Committee .....                                   | 57, 378            |
| National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax .....                                     | 79                 |
| National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism .....                            | 56                 |
| National Committee on Atomic Information .....                                       | 56, 66, 67, 68, 69 |
| National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism .....                                     | 79                 |
| National Committee for Radio Freedom .....                                           | 79                 |
| National Committee of Sponsors to Help Settle Jewish War Orphans in Birobidjan ..... | 79                 |
| National Committee to Win the Peace .....                                            | 79                 |
| National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East .....               | 79                 |
| National Conference on the German Problem .....                                      | 57                 |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, The .....                            | 41, 42, 53, 57, 79 |
| National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions .....                         | 47, 48, 49, 56     |
| National Council of Hungarian Trade Unionists .....                                  | 79                 |

|                                                                       |                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| National Council of Jewish Women .....                                | 67                                                                                                             |
| National Council of Negro Women .....                                 | 67                                                                                                             |
| National Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born .....         | 360                                                                                                            |
| National Education Association .....                                  | 67                                                                                                             |
| National Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families .....          | 79                                                                                                             |
| National Emergency Committee for Price Control .....                  | 79                                                                                                             |
| National Emergency Conference, The .....                              | 50, 51, 269, 350                                                                                               |
| National Equal Rights League .....                                    | 79                                                                                                             |
| National Farmers' Union .....                                         | 67                                                                                                             |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The .....           | 50, 51, 56, 57, 84, 270, 359, 362                                                                              |
| National Film and Photo League .....                                  | 79                                                                                                             |
| National League of Women Voters .....                                 | 67                                                                                                             |
| National Negro Congress .....                                         | 79, 84, 180, 275                                                                                               |
| National Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation .....          | 57                                                                                                             |
| "National Republic" .....                                             | 363                                                                                                            |
| National Resources Planning Board .....                               | 330                                                                                                            |
| National Student League .....                                         | 84, 193, 249, 250, 335, 343                                                                                    |
| National "Wallace for President" Committee .....                      | 45, 47, 55, 74, 79                                                                                             |
| National Youth Assembly Against Universal Military Training .....     | 79                                                                                                             |
| "Native Son" by Richard Wright .....                                  | 294, 295                                                                                                       |
| Navea, Vincent .....                                                  | 355                                                                                                            |
| Neilsen, Dr. Waldemar .....                                           | 69                                                                                                             |
| Negro Labor Victory Committee .....                                   | 79                                                                                                             |
| "Negro Liberator," The .....                                          | 248                                                                                                            |
| Nelson, Mr. and Mrs. Burt .....                                       | 208                                                                                                            |
| Nelson, Cecelia .....                                                 | 275, 276                                                                                                       |
| Nelson, Dr. Everett .....                                             | 215                                                                                                            |
| Nelson, Dr. Richard .....                                             | 378                                                                                                            |
| Nelson, Steve .....                                                   | 155, 156, 157                                                                                                  |
| New Africa .....                                                      | 79                                                                                                             |
| New Century Publishers .....                                          | 79                                                                                                             |
| Newcomb, Theodore M. ....                                             | 47                                                                                                             |
| New Currents .....                                                    | 79                                                                                                             |
| New Foundations .....                                                 | 79                                                                                                             |
| New Haven State Teachers College .....                                | 49                                                                                                             |
| "New Masses" .....                                                    | 115, 346                                                                                                       |
| "New World" .....                                                     | 75, 79, 80, 112, 125, 209, 262, 339, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382 |
| New Writing Foundation .....                                          | 79                                                                                                             |
| Newspaper Guild (See American Newspaper Guild) .....                  |                                                                                                                |
| New York Citizens Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families ..... | 79                                                                                                             |
| New York Committee Against War Propaganda .....                       | 79                                                                                                             |
| New York Committee for Justice in Freeport .....                      | 79                                                                                                             |
| New York Committee to Win the Peace .....                             | 79                                                                                                             |
| New York Consumer Council .....                                       | 79                                                                                                             |
| New York Interracial Singers .....                                    | 79                                                                                                             |
| "New York Post" .....                                                 | 287                                                                                                            |
| New York School for Social Work .....                                 | 359                                                                                                            |
| "New York Teacher, The" .....                                         | 117, 351                                                                                                       |
| New York University .....                                             | 49, 54                                                                                                         |
| "New York World Telegram" .....                                       | 274                                                                                                            |
| New York Youth Council .....                                          | 79                                                                                                             |
| Nieder, Mandel .....                                                  | 365, 378                                                                                                       |
| "No Compromise," by Melvin M. Rader .....                             | 321, 326                                                                                                       |
| Noral, Alex .....                                                     | 346                                                                                                            |
| Norie, James .....                                                    | 318                                                                                                            |
| North American Aviation Strike in California .....                    | 50                                                                                                             |
| North American Spanish Aid Committee .....                            | 269, 355                                                                                                       |
| North Dakota State Agricultural College .....                         | 55                                                                                                             |
| Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism .....                      | 270                                                                                                            |
| Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy .....                      | 349                                                                                                            |
| Northwest Sponsoring Conference on China and the Far East .....       | 270, 375                                                                                                       |

|                               | Page |
|-------------------------------|------|
| Northwestern University ..... | 49   |
| Nova Doba .....               | 79   |
| Noyas, Dr. Richard.....       | 72   |

## O

|                                                                                                |                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Oberlin College .....                                                                          | 49                                               |
| O'Brien, Clifford .....                                                                        | 204, 229, 235, 265, 266, 267, 268, 273, 286, 315 |
| O'Connell, Jerry J. ....                                                                       | 83, 84, 152, 153, 190, 358, 362, 376, 378        |
| O'Connell Peace Act.....                                                                       | 114, 116, 341                                    |
| O'Higgins, Pable .....                                                                         | 369                                              |
| Ohio State University.....                                                                     | 54                                               |
| Oliphant, Dr. Marcus.....                                                                      | 69                                               |
| Olson, Ernest T. ....                                                                          | 351                                              |
| Oppenheimer, Dr. J. Robert.....                                                                | 61, 63, 65, 66, 67                               |
| Ott, Herman .....                                                                              | 374                                              |
| Ottenheimer, Albert M. ....                                                                    | 2, 124,                                          |
| 126, 169, 214, 227, 241, 268, 270, 315f, 337, 338, 347, 373, 374, 375, 376, 379, 380, 381, 383 |                                                  |
| "Our Representative" .....                                                                     | 374                                              |
| Ozbourne, L. E. ....                                                                           | 374                                              |

## P

|                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pacific Northwest Labor School.....                | 76, 80, 220, 223, 224, 269, 270, 367, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 379                                                                                                                          |
| Palmquist, Dr. Emil.....                           | 371                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Palomar Building .....                             | 15                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Pamona College .....                               | 49                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Pampel, George .....                               | 365                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Parry, Tom Jones (Perry).....                      | 365, 377                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Parry, William T. ....                             | 347                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Pascal, Ernest .....                               | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Patterson, Dorothy Thompson.....                   | 287                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Patterson, Robert .....                            | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Patton, Art (See also Dix, Milton).....            | 183                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Pauling, Prof. Linus C. ....                       | 48, 55, 61, 63, 64, 65, 73                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Payne, Virginia .....                              | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peace Committee .....                              | 354                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Peace Co-ordinating Committee.....                 | 269, 270, 356                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Pellegrini, Dr. Angelo.....                        | 2, 19, 31, 103, 104f, 207, 360, 371, 373, 374                                                                                                                                                              |
| Pennock, William J. ....                           | 13, 126, 128, 226, 348, 351, 353, 355, 364, 365, 378                                                                                                                                                       |
| Pennsylvania State College.....                    | 54                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peoples Artists, Inc.....                          | 79                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peoples Culture Union of American Religion.....    | 79                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peoples Institute of Applied Religion.....         | 79                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peoples Radio Foundation.....                      | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peoples Songs .....                                | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| "People's Times" .....                             | 262                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| People's Victory Forum.....                        | 364, 369                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Pepper, Senator Claude.....                        | 192                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Pepper, George .....                               | 372                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Perry, Ralph Barron.....                           | 42                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Peters, J. ....                                    | 254, 292, 293                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Peters, Dr. John P. ....                           | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| "Peters Manual" .....                              | 254, 276, 292, 293, 296                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Pettus, Terry .....                                | 351, 362                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art..... | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| "Philippines Today" .....                          | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Phillips, Herbert J. "Scoop".....                  | 2, 9, 10, 12, 20, 44, 109, 123, 126, 127, 133, 134, 135, 144, 158f, 159, 169f, 203, 214, 215, 223, 246, 247, 270, 300, 301, 342, 347, 348, 357, 360, 361, 362, 367, 373, 374, 375, 376, 379, 380, 381, 382 |
| Phillips, Melber .....                             | 71                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Physicians' Forum .....                            | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Platnitsky, Opsit .....                            | 258                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| "Pittsburgh Courier" .....                         | 274                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|                                                     | Page                                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| "P. M." .....                                       | 72                                            |
| "Political Affairs" .....                           | 80                                            |
| Pope, Professor Arthur Upham.....                   | 73                                            |
| Porter, James .....                                 | 152                                           |
| Portuguese-American Committee for Democracy.....    | 80                                            |
| Powell, R. O. ....                                  | 374                                           |
| "Pravda" .....                                      | 42                                            |
| Pressman, Lee .....                                 | 74, 191, 192                                  |
| Price, V. ....                                      | 374                                           |
| Princeton University .....                          | 49, 54, 60                                    |
| Progressive Citizens of America, The.....           | 73, 74, 80, 269, 270, 373, 376, 377, 378, 379 |
| Progressive Women .....                             | 211                                           |
| Progressive Party .....                             | 380                                           |
| Prompt Press .....                                  | 80                                            |
| "Protestant, The" .....                             | 80                                            |
| Provisional Committee for Democracy in America..... | 80                                            |
| Pueblos Hispanos .....                              | 80                                            |
| Puerto Rican Freedom Committee.....                 | 270, 363                                      |

## Q

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Quinn, Michael (Mike)..... | 354 |
|----------------------------|-----|

## R

|                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Rabbitt, Thomas .....                                         | 13, 15, 351, 356, 365, 366, 376                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Rader, Melvin Miller.....                                     | 2, 23, 166, 186, 207, 208, 209, 210, 215, 252, 253, 270, 300, 317f, 337, 342, 345, 346, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 360, 361, 362, 366, 367, 370, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 383, 384                    |
| Railway Firemen and Engineers.....                            | 139                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Randolph, A. Phillip.....                                     | 275                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Rapport, Morris (Rappaport).....                              | 19, 25, 26, 32, 92, 96, 106, 127, 131, 168, 169, 210, 314, 345, 346                                                                                                                                                |
| Raupp, Bruce .....                                            | 117, 351                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Rautenstrauch, Walter .....                                   | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Read, Mrs. Betty.....                                         | 2                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Read, William .....                                           | 2                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Readers Scope .....                                           | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Red International of Labor Unions.....                        | 168                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Reeves, Mrs. Belle.....                                       | 356                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Reeves, Carl .....                                            | 221, 222, 223, 262                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Reichtag Fire Trial Anniversary.....                          | 57                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Reid, Helen Dwight.....                                       | 67                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Repertory Playhouse, The.....                                 | 15, 24, 96, 100, 101, 124, 128, 129, 165, 166, 168, 169, 213, 214, 224, 225, 226, 227, 240, 242, 263, 265, 267, 313, 314, 318, 337, 338, 339, 341, 353, 355, 364, 366, 369, 371, 372, 374, 377, 376, 379, 380, 382 |
| Reynolds, Quentin .....                                       | 63                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Richards, J. S. ....                                          | 371, 372                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Riviera, Diego .....                                          | 369                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Road to Mass Organization of "Proletarian Children, The"..... | 37                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Robert Marshall Foundation (See Marshall, Robert, Foundation) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Roberts, Bob (Robert).....                                    | 104, 107, 245, 306, 307, 329, 330                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Roberts, Joseph D. ....                                       | 240f, 242                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Robeson, Paul.....                                            | 47, 61, 63, 358, 363, 366, 375, 383                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Rochester, Alfred .....                                       | 371                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Rockefeller Institute, The.....                               | 54                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Rogers' Club, The.....                                        | 4, 8, 9, 11, 12                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Rogge, O. John.....                                           | 380                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Rollins College .....                                         | 49                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Romanul American .....                                        | 80                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Roosevelt College of Chicago.....                             | 49                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Roosevelt, Eleanor .....                                      | 193                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Roosevelt, Franklin D. ....                                   | 50, 58, 114, 117, 302, 352, 359, 361, 363                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Roosevelt, James .....                                        | 372, 373                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Ross, Tom .....                                               | 365                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Royal Canadian Commission (See Canadian Royal Commission)     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |



|                          | Page       |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Rugg, Harold .....       | 117, 351   |
| Rushmore, Howard .....   | 145f, 190f |
| Russian War Relief.....  | 366        |
| Rusky, Golos .....       | 89         |
| Rutgers University ..... | 49         |

## S

|                                                               |                                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sabath, Hon. Adolph.....                                      | 71                             |
| Sacher, Thad .....                                            | 287                            |
| Samuel Adams School for Social Study (of Social Science)..... | 76, 80                         |
| San Francisco State Teachers College.....                     | 130                            |
| Sarah Lawrence University.....                                | 49                             |
| Sass, Louie .....                                             | 281, 296, 297                  |
| Sass, Mary .....                                              | 296, 297                       |
| Saunders, Vera .....                                          | 283                            |
| Saville, Prof. Max.....                                       | 346, 362                       |
| Savery, William .....                                         | 215                            |
| Saylor, Oliver .....                                          | 340                            |
| Schappes, Morris U.....                                       | 75, 154, 251, 256, 275         |
| Schlesinger, Jr., Prof. Arthur M.....                         | 42                             |
| Schneidermann, William .....                                  | 168, 361                       |
| School of Jewish Studies.....                                 | 80                             |
| Schram, Lloyd W.....                                          | 374                            |
| Schram, Noel .....                                            | 374                            |
| Schuman, Frederick L.....                                     | 46, 47, 48                     |
| "Science and Society".....                                    | 50, 51, 80, 347                |
| Scott, Hazel .....                                            | 63                             |
| Scottsboro Case .....                                         | 150                            |
| Seattle Art Museum.....                                       | 364                            |
| Seattle Central Labor Council.....                            | 177                            |
| Seattle Council of American Peace Mobilization.....           | 356                            |
| Seattle Labor School (See Pacific Northwest Labor School)     |                                |
| Seattle Repertory Playhouse (See Repertory Playhouse)         |                                |
| Second Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism.....        | 114, 115, 342                  |
| "Secret of Soviet Strength, The".....                         | 363, 364                       |
| Seller, Richard .....                                         | 349                            |
| Selsam, Howard (alias Hill, Howard).....                      | 75                             |
| Selsam, Prof. ....                                            | 275                            |
| Shapley, Prof. (Dr.) Harlow.....                              | 47, 59, 60, 63, 68, 69, 73, 74 |
| Sherer, Marcel .....                                          | 281, 282, 287                  |
| Shighkin, Boris .....                                         | 67                             |
| Ship Scalpers' Hall.....                                      | 102                            |
| Shumlin, Herman .....                                         | 62                             |
| Sieg, Dr. Lee Paul.....                                       | 358, 362                       |
| Sikson, Alice .....                                           | 275                            |
| Silvermaster, Gregory .....                                   | 192                            |
| Simmons, College .....                                        | 49                             |
| Simmons, Prof. Ernest U.....                                  | 45                             |
| Simms, Emma .....                                             | 369                            |
| Simons, Rev. Dr. George Albert.....                           | 371                            |
| Simpson, Jerry .....                                          | 371                            |
| Simpson, John A. ....                                         | 66, 67                         |
| Sinatra, Frank .....                                          | 63                             |
| Siskin, George .....                                          | 254, 291                       |
| Skeets, Del .....                                             | 380                            |
| "Slavic-American, The" .....                                  | 80                             |
| Slve, Prof. Maud.....                                         | 48                             |
| Smith, Betty .....                                            | 374                            |
| Smith, H. D.....                                              | 67                             |
| Smith, Howard F.....                                          | 218f, 261f, 369                |
| Smith, Mike (Michael B.).....                                 | 92, 96, 351                    |
| Smithsonian Institute, The.....                               | 54                             |

|                                                         | Page                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Snow, Arthur .....                                      | 378                                           |
| "Social Frontiers" .....                                | 354                                           |
| Social Workers Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.....  | 350                                           |
| Society for the Prevention of World War III.....        | 80                                            |
| Sound View Foundation.....                              | 80                                            |
| Southern Conference for Human Welfare.....              | 80                                            |
| Southern Illinois (College of).....                     | 49                                            |
| Southern Negro Youth Congress.....                      | 80                                            |
| Southern Patriot .....                                  | 80                                            |
| "Soviet Power, The".....                                | 364                                           |
| "Soviet Russia Today".....                              | 57, 80, 340                                   |
| "Soviet Spirit" .....                                   | 369                                           |
| Spanish Aid Committee.....                              | 40                                            |
| Spanish Medical Aid.....                                | 187                                           |
| Spanish Refugee Appeal, The.....                        | 50, 51, 57, 269, 270, 366, 367, 368, 370, 375 |
| Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.....                    | 186                                           |
| Sparkman, Harold .....                                  | 371                                           |
| Spectorsky, A. C.....                                   | 63                                            |
| Sponsors Committee for South African Famine Relief..... | 80                                            |
| Stachel, Jack .....                                     | 293                                           |
| "Stage for Action" .....                                | 80                                            |
| St. John's Episcopal Church.....                        | 263                                           |
| St. Lawrence University .....                           | 49                                            |
| Stanford University .....                               | 49, 281                                       |
| Starin, Mr. Edward.....                                 | 268                                           |
| Steele, Bernice .....                                   | 2, 3, 70                                      |
| Steinberg, Jack .....                                   | 377                                           |
| Stern, Bernhard J. (alias Stevens, Bennett).....        | 75                                            |
| Stevens, James .....                                    | 364                                           |
| Stevens, Bennett (See Stern, Bernhard J.)               |                                               |
| Stevenson, Grace .....                                  | 374                                           |
| Stirling, Brents .....                                  | 119, 337, 362                                 |
| Stith, Ernest Paul .....                                | 112f, 268f                                    |
| Stolberg, Benjamin .....                                | 351                                           |
| Stone, Victoria .....                                   | 156, 157                                      |
| Stone, William I.....                                   | 137                                           |
| Strike Strategy Committee for Hollywood Strikers.....   | 80                                            |
| Students for Wallace.....                               | 80, 84, 147, 194, 195                         |
| Student League for Industrial Democracy.....            | 84, 249, 343                                  |
| Sullivan, James J.....                                  | 237f                                          |
| Sullivan, James T.....                                  | 237, 351                                      |
| Summers, Mr. Lane.....                                  | 298f                                          |
| Summers, Thane .....                                    | 214, 298                                      |
| "Sunday News" .....                                     | 125, 345                                      |
| Sundberg, Mabel .....                                   | 374                                           |
| Sunoo, Harold W.....                                    | 380                                           |
| Swarthmore College .....                                | 49                                            |
| Syracuse University .....                               | 49                                            |
| Szilard, Leo .....                                      | 64, 65, 66, 67                                |

## T

|                                                  |            |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Teachers' for DeLacy for Congress Committee..... | 366, 374   |
| Teachers' Union, Local 5.....                    | 194        |
| Teamsters Union .....                            | 177        |
| "Tempo" .....                                    | 354        |
| Terlin, Rose .....                               | 151        |
| Thayer, Prof. Ralph.....                         | 378        |
| Thomas, Paul .....                               | 365        |
| Thomas, R. J.....                                | 60         |
| Thompson, Dorothy (See Patterson, D. T.)         |            |
| "Timber Worker" .....                            | 168        |
| Tobey, Sen. Charles W.....                       | 59, 60, 69 |

|                                              | Page                                                          |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Todd, Janet .....                            | 239                                                           |
| Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity ..... | 80                                                            |
| Trade Union Service, Inc. ....               | 80                                                            |
| Trade Union Unity League .....               | 167                                                           |
| Trends and Tides .....                       | 80                                                            |
| Tripp, Etta .....                            | 377                                                           |
| Trotsky, Leon .....                          | 196, 197                                                      |
| Troy, Smith .....                            | 356                                                           |
| Truman, Harry S. ....                        | 53, 71                                                        |
| Tugwell, Rexford Guy .....                   | 39, 47, 74, 363                                               |
| Tulane University .....                      | 49                                                            |
| Tuskegee Institute .....                     | 49                                                            |
| Tyler, Jerry .....                           | 374, 376, 378                                                 |
| Tyler, Richard G. ....                       | 2, 341, 345, 347, 352, 358, 360, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 378 |
| Tyomies .....                                | 80                                                            |

## U

|                                                                        |                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| "Ukrainian Daily News" .....                                           | 80                         |
| Union Bay Village .....                                                | 379                        |
| Union College .....                                                    | 55                         |
| Unitarian Service Commission .....                                     | 368                        |
| United-American Spanish Aid Committee, The .....                       | 50, 51                     |
| United Christian Council for Democracy .....                           | 80                         |
| United Committee of South-Slavic Americans .....                       | 80                         |
| United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations ..... | 80                         |
| United Council of Church Women .....                                   | 67                         |
| United Defense Rally .....                                             | 360                        |
| United Negro and Allied Veterans of America .....                      | 80                         |
| United Office and Professional Workers of America .....                | 116, 351, 379              |
| United States Arrangement Committee of the World Youth Congress .....  | 80                         |
| United States-Soviet Friendship Congress .....                         | 57                         |
| United Steelworkers of America .....                                   | 66, 67                     |
| University Friends of Jim Norie .....                                  | 318                        |
| University of Akron .....                                              | 49                         |
| University of California at Los Angeles .....                          | 44, 49                     |
| University of Chicago .....                                            | 54                         |
| University of Cincinnati .....                                         | 49                         |
| University of Colorado .....                                           | 49                         |
| University of Illinois .....                                           | 49, 54                     |
| University of Michigan .....                                           | 49, 54                     |
| University of Missouri .....                                           | 49                         |
| University of Nebraska .....                                           | 54                         |
| University of North Carolina .....                                     | 49                         |
| University of Pennsylvania .....                                       | 49                         |
| University of Pennsylvania Medical School .....                        | 49                         |
| University of Rochester .....                                          | 54                         |
| University of Southern California .....                                | 281                        |
| University of Washington .....                                         | 49                         |
| Urey, Dr. Harold C. ....                                               | 54, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67 |
| Uss, Ilm .....                                                         | 80                         |

## V

|                                                    |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Van Doren, Carl .....                              | 63                                  |
| Vassar College .....                               | 49                                  |
| Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, The ..... | 50, 51, 80, 269, 270, 353, 384, 385 |
| Veterans Committee Against Discrimination .....    | 80                                  |
| Veterans of the International Brigade .....        | 368                                 |
| Veterans Justice Committee .....                   | 80                                  |
| Vilnis .....                                       | 80                                  |
| Voge, Marietta .....                               | 365                                 |
| "Voice of Action, The" .....                       | 95, 148                             |
| Voice of Freedom Committee .....                   | 80                                  |
| Vuolijoki, Hella .....                             | 363                                 |

## W

|                                                                                    | Page                                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Wagenknecht, Professor Edwin .....                                                 | 354                                                                                                                                          |
| Wagner (See Merker, Fritz) .....                                                   | 167, 168                                                                                                                                     |
| Wakefield, Lowell .....                                                            | 148                                                                                                                                          |
| "Wallace for President" Committee (See National "Wallace for President" Committee) |                                                                                                                                              |
| Wallace, Henry A. ....                                                             | 46, 47, 48, 68, 69, 74, 191, 194, 375, 377, 378, 380                                                                                         |
| Wallace Sponsoring Committee .....                                                 | 378                                                                                                                                          |
| Walt Whitman School of Social Science .....                                        | 80                                                                                                                                           |
| Walters, Mrs. Samuel .....                                                         | 377                                                                                                                                          |
| Ward, Dr. Harry F. ....                                                            | 114, 341, 342, 369                                                                                                                           |
| Ware, Harold .....                                                                 | 74, 191, 192, 193                                                                                                                            |
| Warne, Colston .....                                                               | 46, 47                                                                                                                                       |
| Warren, Ward F. ....                                                               | 125f                                                                                                                                         |
| Washington Citizens Bill of Rights Committee .....                                 | 380, 381                                                                                                                                     |
| Washington Committee for Academic Freedom .....                                    | 81                                                                                                                                           |
| Washington Committee for People's Rights .....                                     | 359                                                                                                                                          |
| "Washington Commonwealth" .....                                                    | 95                                                                                                                                           |
| Washington Commonwealth Federation .....                                           | 94, 95, 97, 100, 114, 115, 118, 125, 127, 128, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 174, 211, 212, 237, 270, 302, 318, 344, 345, 348, 350, 351, 353, 355 |
| Washington Joint Council of Teachers .....                                         | 344                                                                                                                                          |
| "Washington New Dealer, The" .....                                                 | 112, 115, 118, 125, 349, 351, 353, 355, 356, 359, 360, 361                                                                                   |
| Washington Pension Union .....                                                     | 125, 126, 127, 173, 174, 237, 274, 356, 361, 369, 375, 376, 379                                                                              |
| Washington State Commonwealth Federation Emergency Defense Conference .....        | 360                                                                                                                                          |
| Washington State Federation of Teachers .....                                      | 344, 347                                                                                                                                     |
| Washington State Industrial Union Council .....                                    | 353                                                                                                                                          |
| "Washington Teacher, The" .....                                                    | 347                                                                                                                                          |
| Washington University in St. Louis .....                                           | 54                                                                                                                                           |
| Watson, Goodwin .....                                                              | 46, 47, 48                                                                                                                                   |
| Wedekind, Max .....                                                                | 378                                                                                                                                          |
| Wei, Dr. Hsioh-Ren .....                                                           | 69                                                                                                                                           |
| Weisskopf, V. F. ....                                                              | 64, 65                                                                                                                                       |
| Welles, Orson .....                                                                | 63                                                                                                                                           |
| West Coast CIO Longshoremen .....                                                  | 116                                                                                                                                          |
| Westman, Lenus .....                                                               | 357                                                                                                                                          |
| Western Reserve University .....                                                   | 49                                                                                                                                           |
| Western Washington College of Education .....                                      | 136, 137, 139                                                                                                                                |
| "Western Worker" .....                                                             | 168                                                                                                                                          |
| Wheeler, Mrs. Farling Clara .....                                                  | 369                                                                                                                                          |
| White, Harry Dexter .....                                                          | 193                                                                                                                                          |
| Wilberforce University .....                                                       | 49                                                                                                                                           |
| Wiggen, John .....                                                                 | 377, 378                                                                                                                                     |
| Wigner, Eugene .....                                                               | 67                                                                                                                                           |
| Wildman, Mrs. Muriel .....                                                         | 364, 365                                                                                                                                     |
| Wilkinson, Professor "Dokesy" .....                                                | 275                                                                                                                                          |
| Williams College .....                                                             | 49                                                                                                                                           |
| Williams, Harold .....                                                             | 256                                                                                                                                          |
| Wills, Ellsworth Clayton .....                                                     | 230f                                                                                                                                         |
| Wilson, Allen Bond .....                                                           | 2, 3                                                                                                                                         |
| Wilson, Carroll .....                                                              | 68, 69                                                                                                                                       |
| Wilson, Mrs. Susan Schuler .....                                                   | 2, 3                                                                                                                                         |
| Win-the-Peace Conference, The .....                                                | 50, 51, 71, 80, 269, 270, 373, 375, 376                                                                                                      |
| Winther, Dr. Sophus Keith .....                                                    | 2, 17, 18f, 27, 32, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111, 127, 307, 329, 330, 335                                                                         |
| Winther, Mrs. Sophus Keith (Mabel Eline) .....                                     | 2, 25, 27f                                                                                                                                   |
| Witt, Nathan .....                                                                 | 193                                                                                                                                          |
| Women's Committee Backing Hugh DeLacy .....                                        | 366                                                                                                                                          |
| Women's Committee for Peace .....                                                  | 269, 353, 355                                                                                                                                |
| Women's Council for Peace .....                                                    | 358                                                                                                                                          |
| Women's International Democratic Federation .....                                  | 80                                                                                                                                           |
| Woolfe, Joe L. ....                                                                | 369, 377                                                                                                                                     |
| World Federation of Democratic Youth .....                                         | 80                                                                                                                                           |
| World Federation of Trade Unions .....                                             | 80                                                                                                                                           |
| World Youth Festival .....                                                         | 80                                                                                                                                           |
| Workers' Alliance .....                                                            | 127, 180, 348                                                                                                                                |

|                                    |             |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| "Workers' Library" .....           | Page<br>279 |
| Workers School—New York City ..... | 248, 255    |
| Wright, Richard .....              | 294, 295    |

## Y

|                                                                                                    |                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Yale Divinity School .....                                                                         | 116, 351                     |
| Yale University .....                                                                              | 49, 54                       |
| Yarborough, Letcher .....                                                                          | 378                          |
| Yeurgan, Dr. Max .....                                                                             | 275                          |
| Yoris, Mr. E. W. ....                                                                              | 138                          |
| Young Communist International .....                                                                | 38, 146, 149, 150            |
| Young Communist League .....                                                                       | 136,                         |
| 139, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 193, 194, 248, 250, 275, 286, 287, 295, 323, 334, 359, 365, 380 |                              |
| Young Democrats .....                                                                              | 177                          |
| Young Men's Christian Association .....                                                            | 177, 275, 334, 365           |
| "Young Order, The" .....                                                                           | 146                          |
| Young Progressive Citizens of America .....                                                        | 80, 84                       |
| Young Women's Christian Association .....                                                          | 151, 177, 208, 271, 364, 365 |
| "Young Worker" .....                                                                               | 146, 150                     |
| Young Workers League .....                                                                         | 194                          |
| "Youth" (magazine) .....                                                                           | 80                           |

## Z

|                                        |         |
|----------------------------------------|---------|
| Zigrosser, Carl .....                  | 63      |
| Zysman, Dale (alias Hardy, Jack) ..... | 75, 275 |